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Editor: *SAMUEL COULING.*

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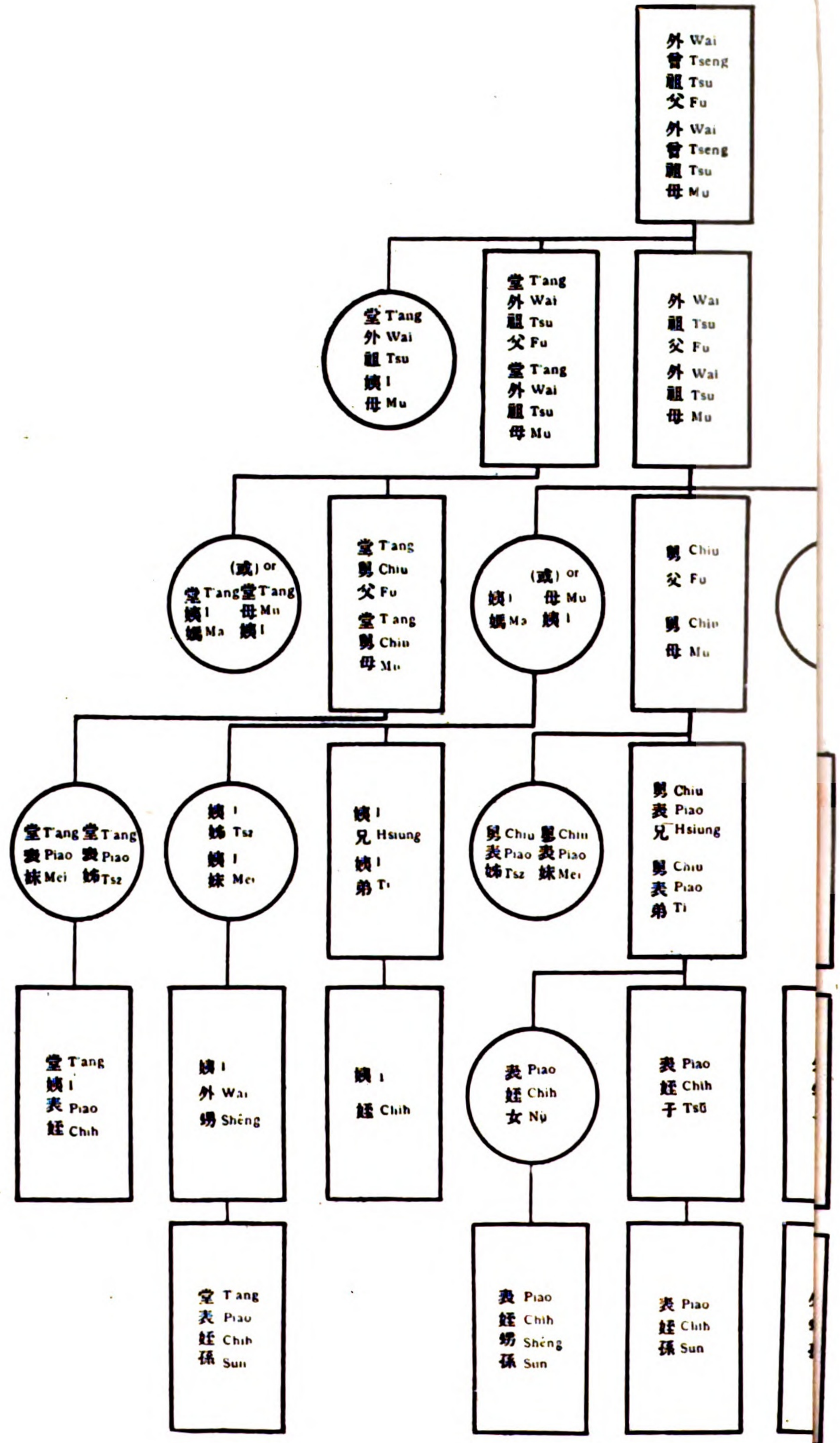

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THE NEW
CHINA REVIEW

VOL. III. JUNE, 1921 NO. 3.

CHINESE FAMILY NOMENCLATURE AND ITS SUPPOSED RELATION TO A PRIMITIVE GROUP-MARRIAGE

BY
H. P. WILKINSON, B.C.L.

The 'Classificatory System of Relationships' noticed first as in use by the Iroquois, and later found to be used by many other American-Indian tribes, is the foundation upon which Professor Morgan, who discovered and classified the terms used, built his theory of the normal advance of the human family from promiscuity, through the cohabitation of brother and sister, the communal family, and the tribal organization, to the marriage of single pairs, and later, through polygamy and polyandry, to the modern family.*

What Morgan found was that among many races the same word or words were used to indicate not only one relative of the speaker but several, that for instance, in the 'Malayan System,' the fifth of the stages thrcugh which he supposed the human family to have passed, "All the brothers of my father and of my mother are my fathers, and all the sisters of my father and of my mother are mothers." †

* Morgan. *Systems of Consanquinity & Affinity of the Human Family.*

† McLennan. *Studies in Ancient History and Primitive Marriage.* 1876. p. 338.

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Morgan thought that this classing together of relatives who, under the 'descriptive system' as in use in modern civilizations, have a separate and distinct appellation, arose from, and was a proof of a once allowed cohabitation between the persons included in the same class-name ; and that the system of relationship indicated by the class name was, or had been, a system of blood-relationship.

McLennan in his *Studies in Ancient History and Primitive Marriage* dealt severely with Morgan's theory ; and he pointed out, incidentally, that although promiscuity, and life in a communal family, might lead to uncertainty as to who a man's father was, and so lead to several persons being called 'father', it could not explain how several persons could be a man's mother.

This criticism of Morgan's explanation of the social facts which he held his 'classificatory system of relationships' to connote cannot, however, be applied to the many 'mothers' of the system as explained by Sir J. G. Frazer ; who in dealing in his *Totemism and Exogamy*, with the plural forms of the Melanesian words meaning mother, husband, wife and child says :

" Here as elsewhere the application of the classificatory system of relationship is only intelligible on the hypothesis that there was a time in the history of the race when a group of women were the common wives of a group of men, and when all the men were the "fathers" and all the women were the "mothers" of all the children born of the group marriage, these terms "father" and "mother" signifying merely that the persons so designated were members of intermarrying groups, not at all that they had begotten or borne, as the case might be, all the children whom they called their sons and daughters. Unless we can thus distinguish the classificatory sense of these terms from our own, it is vain to attempt to understand the primitive history of marriage."*

Westermarck in *The History of Human Marriage* published in 1903, says of Morgan's views, in the same connection :—

" It is conceivable that uncertainty as regards fatherhood might have led a savage to call several men his fathers, but an analogous reason could never have induced him to name several women his mother."†

In dealing with the stages through which he conjectured human family life had passed on its way toward monogamy, Morgan beginning with 'Promiscuous Intercourse' as the first

* Sir J. G. Frazer. *Totemism and Exogamy.* Vol. 11, p. 74.
† Westermarck. *The History of Human Marriage.* p 89.

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stage,—'The Intermarriage or co-habitation of Brothers and Sisters' as the second,—'The Communal Family' as the third,—'The Hawaiian Custom' as the fourth,—the 'Malayan Form' of the Classificatory System as the fifth,— and 'The Tribal Organization' as the sixth, treats Chinese family relationships, as he knew of them, and those of the Hindus, and those of the North American Indians (his special study) as evidencing a form of family life seventh in an age-long ascent upwards from Promiscuity and, as a stage in development lower than his next stage, that of 'Marriage between Single Pairs.' Professor Morgan styled this seventh stage in his scheme 'The Turanian and Ganowanian systems of relationship': the 'Turanian' including a Chinese phase of human family life as he supposed it to have existed; and the 'Ganowanian' being a phase of family life evidenced, as he held, by terms of relationship used by the Indian tribes of North America.

P. G. von Möllendorff in his *Family Law of the Chinese* revised and reprinted in 1896, comments on Starcke's discussion of, and views as to, the terms of Chinese relationship. Had the scheme of his work permitted a detailed examination of the 'Chinese Classificatory System' as set out in McLennan's and Starcke's Tables, von Möllendorff would, without doubt, have pointed out once and for all their misunderstanding, inevitable indeed in view of the materials upon which those authorities worked, and the consequent unsoundness of the conclusions drawn by them and subsequent writers from the same materials, in so far, at any rate, as the Chinese family is concerned.

All that von Möllendorff says by way of criticism is:—"C. N. Starcke (*The Primitive Family*, p. 201-3, 206, 298) discusses the different terms of Chinese relationship, but his authorities were not free from error."*

Von Möllendorff's reason for leaving the matter thus may indeed have been that, of the three authorities on matters Chinese whom he mentions as having written on Chinese relationship, namely G. Schlegel, A. J. May, and G. Jamieson, Mr. May of the Hongkong Civil Service had in 1881, in *The China Review*, Vol. XXI, published such a careful and full list and explanation of the terms used, in the Cantonese dialect, to designate Chinese family relationships that he, von Möllendorff, considered it unnecessary to further deal with a supposed Chinese use of the 'classificatory system of relationships' as accepted and built on by eminent ethnologists.

* P. G. von Möllendorff. *The Family Law of the Chinese*. p. 5.

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That some further explanation of the Chinese designations of the members of a family, with special reference to the 'classificatory system' of Morgan, and the social facts which it has been taken as evidence of, is necessary is shown by the fact that Professor Letourneau in *The Evolution of Marriage*, relying on Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity* as his authority, says :—

"In China the language itself attests the ancient existence of a marriage contracted by a group of brothers having their wives in common, but not marrying their sisters. A Chinaman always calls the sons of his brother his 'sons,' whilst he considers those of his sisters nephews ; but the virtual, or rather fictitious fathers, brothers, and sons are distinguished from the real fathers, brothers and sons by the epithet 'class' added to their appellation."*

A Chinese father does not "always" call the sons of his brothers his 'sons' ; in fact he never does so unless he has adopted one of them as his own son on the death, or failure, of natural male offspring of his own. In that case even, the adopted son is referred to, and refers to himself, by terms which indicate that he is an adopted son ; and further the appropriate terms so used mark the difference between a person adopted from amongst the members of one's own family and an outside person with a different surname from one's own.

In Chinese tables of kindred the character 子 TZU (the tsze of Morgan, and of Starcke) is, as a suffix and in combination with other characters, used to denote a male relative of a certain nearness to the 'Ipse' (己身 CHI SHEN or 本身 PEN-SHEN) of such tables. Thus my brother's son is in such tables of kindred designated by the characters 姪 CHIH alone, or 姪子 CHIH-TZU. My sister's son is in such tables designated by the characters 外甥 WAI-SHENG, or 外甥子 WAI-SHENG-TZU. In the designation of both kinds of nephew, the brother's son and the sister's son, and in that of many other male relatives in Chinese tables of kindred where, in any case, such an indication of sex is necessary for clearness, the character 子 TZU is used as a suffix meaning 'male.'

The same character 子 TZU in the sense of 'the boy' of the family is used by itself alone in some tables of kindred as a short indication of the son of the Ipse of the tables.

It is to be noted that another compound Chinese character having the same sound 'CHIH,' but formed by the character 儿 JEN meaning 'man' (written as 亻 when used, as here, to the left

* Ch. Letourneau. *The Evolution of Marriage*, p. 323-4(4th edit. 1914)

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of another character with which it is combined) and the character 至 CHIH meaning 'reach' is often used in Chinese tables of kindred, instead of 姪, to indicate the child of a brother, an agnatic nephew.

The character 兒 ERH is used in China as a noun of common gender meaning 'child': thus a parent addressing either a son or daughter might say 'WO-TI-ERH 我的兒, my child. This wo-ti, my, is the 'wote' prefixed in Morgan's Table III (Starcke's Table X) to the names of relatives in China as there given.

The same character 兒 ERH is also used in some Chinese tables of kindred instead of, or as an alternative synonym of 子 TZU, in combination with varying other characters as denoting a male as distinguished from a female relative, whose relation in the family to oneself is indicated by the various other characters to which TZU or ERH, is affixed. This ERH is the 'IR' of Morgan's and of Starcke's Tables.

It was a misunderstanding by Morgan of the Chinese use of ERH (IR) which led Starcke to say: "In the closest degree of kinship *ir* and *neu* define the family relationship; *ir-tze* or 'boy child' is a son, and *neu-ir* or 'maiden-child' is a daughter; it is therefore the term for kinship, while tsze and neu only appear to indicate the sex." Starcke himself had not grasped the meaning of ERH, as he continues "Morgan is unable to decide how far the latter words, when the '*ir*' is omitted, still signify 'son' and 'daughter' or if the unexpressed *ir* is to be understood." *

Neither the character TZU nor the character ERH, the use of which by themselves in tables of kindred indicates, as we have seen, the male descendant, 'the boy' of the family, are in some such tables used to indicate one's own son.

Thus Father Pierre Hoang in his great work *Le Mariage Chinois au Point de Vue Légal*, in his Tables of Kindred as stated for reference as to the different degrees of mourning to be worn in China for one's relatives, uses the character 男 NAN to indicate one's own son.

In May's Table of Chinese Relationships, already referred to, the characters for the 'general' term for 'son' are given as 男仔 N'AM TSAI, in Pekingese NAN TZU, the little son. The 'colloquial' term for 'son' is given by May as 仔 TSAI, the little one.

The old form of the character 子 TZU, son, as given in K'ang Hsi's Dictionary compiled by direction of that Emperor is 𡥈 or 𡦂, and the original form as 𡦃 or 𡦄.

* Starcke, *The Primitive Family*, p. 201.

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In the *Shuo Wên*, a dictionary of 'radicals' published in 121 A.D. the earliest known form of TZU is given as .

The 'Honan Bones,' a deposit of fragments of animal bones on which were made enquiries by augury, were discovered in 1889 in the province of Honan. Mr. L. C. Hopkins, I.S.O., late of H. M. Consular Service in China, in his essay 'Working the Oracle'* says that all authorities are now agreed that the incisions on these bones were made in Shang dynasty times (1766-1154 B.C.). On the Honan Bones a son is pictured as and . Dr. L. Wieger, S.J., in *Caractères Chinois*, gives and † as the earliest known forms, being representations of a new-born child in swaddling clothes, and in the second form the child's hair is indicated.

In Chinese Tables of kindred the character NU woman, female, is used by itself to indicate 'the girl' of the family, one's own daughter. NU is also used in the same way as TZU, male, as a sex indicator, and as its opposite to indicate a female relative of that nearness to oneself indicated by other characters to which it is in certain cases attached as a suffix.

May gives NU TSAI 'the little girl' as the 'general' term for daughter, and NU, by itself, as the 'colloquial' term.

An old form of the character NU is and K'ang Hsi's Dictionary gives and .

Wieger gives the pictograph as the earliest form of the character representing the ritual attitude, in ritual of Chinese women, the arms hanging down and crossed over the body. He gives , the form in the *Shuo-wên*, as an early variant.‡

Wieger says the 'Lesser-Seal' character is a cursive modification of the older pictogram , the right side of the picture having become deformed.

On a search through the plates in Menzie's *Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin* illustrating his collection of 'Oracle Bones' of the time of the Shang dynasty, one finds markings which appear to be rude pictures of kneeling human figures in profile.

On the bone fragment No. 277 is the picture which may be an example of the oldest form of NU, as given by Wieger, but with the head indicated.

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* *New China Review*, Vol. I, p. 249.

† L. Wieger. *Caractères Chinois.* (Translated by L. Davrout, Vol. I, p. 230). ‡ L. Wieger. *op. cit.* (English translation. Vol. I, p. 166).

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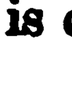
On the fragment No. 2341 is the form in which the head is clearly indicated. On fragment No. 765 is the form  .

On many other fragments a figure drawn thus is found, of which that on fragment No. 1450 is a good example, which appears to be that of one kneeling with folded arms.

On fragment No. 105, and others, the kneeling figure is an early form of MU, a mother.

In some figures not only the arms but also the hands are indicated, as thus in No. 544.

On Menzie's fragment No. 48 is the pictogram That on No. 1269 is .

On a fragment shown on the third plate in the Second Volume of Lo Chên Yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Chi*, 'Records of the Tumulus of Yin,' is the figure .

In *The Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* Morgan considered the relation of his 'Malayan' form of the human family to his 'Turanian and Ganowanian' form; and their points of agreement and difference, as there stated, were later discussed by McLennan.*

It was accepted by both writers, though they differed in their explanation, that: "The children of my male cousins, myself a male, are in the 'Turanian' form my nephews and nieces; and the children of my female cousins are my sons and daughters." After a careful analysis of the materials then at his disposal Starcke in *The Primitive Family* says: "These translations"† (those supplied to Morgan of the compound characters used to designate certain relationships) "are only valuable so far as they show that the Chinese possess the third characteristic feature of the Turanian system—that is, that a man's brother's children rank as his own, while his sister's children are nephews and nieces."

The proposition that the Chinese names for kindred do not distinguish between sons and fraternal nephews, or that there is anything in such names, or the manner in which fraternal nephews are called, or addressed, to warrant the statement that such nephews are classed as 'sons' stands first for examination.

In Chinese tables of kindred the son of one's brother, one's agnatic nephew, is indicated by the character 姪 CHIH, or with the sex indicator TZU added 姪子 CHIH TZU to distinguish a fraternal nephew from 姪女 CHIH NU a fraternal niece.

* McLennan. *Studies in Ancient History*, 1876. p. 350 et. seq. p. 398, et seq. † Starcke, *Op. cit.* p. 202.

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K'ang Hsi's Dictionary gives as the meaning of 姪 CHIH the son or daughter of a brother. Giles' Dictionary gives as the meaning "The son or daughter of a brother, a nephew, a niece." 姪 'CHIH' is in fact a noun of common gender, an agnatic nephew or niece.

May gives 姪 CHIH as the 'general' term for a brother's son and 姪子 CHIH TZU (Chat Tsz in Cantonese) as the colloquial term.

May's tables give not only the Chinese 'general,' and the 'colloquial' terms for family relationship, but also the 'polite term' (used when making enquiries of a person), and the 'self-depreciating term' (used when answering enquiries).

In all four classes of terms for brother's sons and daughters, the character 姪 CHIH is the indicating descriptive term.

As we have seen, in May's tables of terms for kindred the 'general' term for one's own son is 男仔 NAM TSAI 'the little boy.' The colloquial term is 仔 TSAI, the little one, the 'polite' terms are phrases such as 令郎 LING LANG 'Your honourable young gentleman,' and the 'self-depreciating' terms for one's own son are such as 小兒 HSIAO ERH, the little boy.

In no name for, or mode of calling, one's own son does the character 姪 CHIH occur and there is no trace of any confusion in nomenclature between one's own child and the children of one's brother.

CHIH 姪 with the addition of other and varying characters indicates, and describes, different classes of those relatives whom the Chinese reckon as nephews and nieces on the father's or mother's side, and whom we call cousins 'once,' 'twice,' or 'three times,' 'removed.' For instance the agnatic grand-nephew of one's father, one's cousin once removed in our reckoning, is indicated in Chinese tables of kindred by the characters 堂姪 T'ANG CHIH; and one's father's agnatic grand-niece by the same characters with the addition of 女 NU, female, as the sex indicator.

The character 堂 T'ANG means a hall, a court, the 'ancestral hall.' It is with this last sense that it is found in combination with varying other characters to indicate relatives of the same surname but not of the same generation. (See Giles' Dictionary under T'ang (No. 10760).

The agnatic great-grand-nephew of one's father is indicated by the characters 堂姪孫 T'ANG-CHIH-SUN. The character 孫 SUN means grandson, and here added to T'ANG-CHIH indicates an agnatic relative of the second generation in direct descent from any agnatic cousin, a grand-nephew belonging to my own ancestral-hall.

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Taking the instance of the agnatic relative furthest removed from oneself to be found usually indicated in the list of one's immediate kindred in China, namely, the sixth agnate in direct descent from one's own great-great grandfather, that relative is indicated by the characters 族 姪 孫 TSU-CHIH-SUN meaning one's 'clan-nephew-grandson.'

The Chinese character for father is 父 FU. The characters for grandfather, one's ancestral-father are 祖 父 TSU-FU: those for great-grandfather are 曾 祖 TSENG-TSU, one's 'past' ancestor; and those for one's great-great-grandfather 高 祖 KAO-TSU, one's 'exalted' ancestor.

Wieger in his *Caractères Chinois* gives , as the oldest forms of 父 FU, and says "Fu, Father, "considered as the Chief and Instructor of his family. Composed of hand, and a stick."*

The *Shuo Wên* says: 父 Fu, has the meaning of 'ruler' the head of a family who guides (teaches) the entire family in accordance with rules.

In K'ang Hsi's Dictionary the same derivation is given.

In China all relatives of the next younger generation than one's own, counting generally, as a starting point, from one's own agnatic great-grandfather, or the agnatic grandfather of one's own mother, are considered as nephews or grand-nephews of varying degrees of relationship. In the Chinese characters designating such relatives the character 姪 CHIH, nephew, in combination with other characters, appears, with this important exception, that if their relation to myself, the Ipse of the table of kindred, is through their mother having been born a female agnate of mine then the character 甥 SHENG is used, and not 姪 CHIH, as the character indicating 'nephew.'

Thus one's father's brother's daughter's son (in our reckoning a cousin once removed) is in a Chinese table of kindred indicated by the characters 堂 外 甥 T'ANG-WAI-SHENG. These characters thus denote a nephew the son of a female agnate 甥 SHENG, the mother being born a member of one ancestral hall 堂 T'ANG, but married out of it 外 WAI. Thus in the same way one's agnatic great-grandfather's great-grand-daughter's son, being of the same generation as one's own son, and by Chinese reckoning a nephew, is indicated by the characters 再 從 外 甥 TSAI-TSUNG-WAI-SHENG, a still-further removed-'outside' (non-agnatic)-nephew.

*L. Wieger. *Op. cit.* (English translation) Vol. I, p. 117.

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If an Englishman were asked to say what was the relation to himself of a kinsman corresponding to the one just referred to and described as we have seen in Chinese as TSAI-TSUNG-WAI-SHENG 再從外甥, he would in all probability be unable to say. A Scot or an Irishman with their stronger clan feeling, would, after thought, describe him as a 'second cousin once removed.' But even a Highlander, short of a long story, would have no means of distinguishing that second-cousin-once-removed from any other cousin-once-removed, nor by his answer indicate that cousin's sex.

So accurately descriptive is Chinese nomenclature that not only has each kind of 'second-cousin-once-removed' a distinctive designation; but further, if social or legal reasons called for it, the order in age in their own immediate family of such cousins could and would be indicated by the addition of appropriate numerical characters.

One now comes to the second part of the proposition of Morgan, McLennan, and Starcke, accepted and repeated, as we have seen, by Letourneau, namely, that in China a man's sister's children are 'nephews' and 'nieces,' his brother's children not being so considered.

We have seen that in China a man's brother's children are not designated or described as his own children but as his nephews and nieces 'CHIH' (CHIH TZU), and CHIH NU.

In Chinese the character 姪 CHIH denotes the child of a brother: and the character 甥 SHENG, denotes the child of a sister. CHIH denotes primarily therefore an agnatic nephew or niece. SHENG primarily denotes a cognatic nephew, a nephew of another surname, belonging to a different family and clan.

The fact is that as regards terms for nephews and nieces the Chinese language is more 'descriptive' than the English language with which Morgan, Starcke and other writers on the 'Classificatory system of relationship' contrasted it.

The character 姪 CHIH is a compound of two characters 女 NU woman, and 至 CHIH 'to reach' as the phonetic.

The old form of Chih as given by K'ang Hsi's Dictionary is pictograms of a woman and of an alighting bird (with the meaning of 'reach').

Mr. Hopkins, a leading authority in such matters, has kindly drawn the writer's attention to the fact that CHIH is pictured on the 'Honan Bones' as ; and also with the sex indicator tzŭ added, as ; the lower pictogram being that for TZU, a male. .

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The character 甥 SHENG, is a compound of two characters 生 SHENG, to bear, and 男 NAN, a male: Nan being itself composed of 田 T'IEN, the pictogram for a field, and 力 LI, physical effort.

K'ang Hsi's Dictionary says:

"姪 CHIH the son or daughter of a brother."

"甥 SHENG, a sister's son."

In some Chinese tables of kindred another Chih, the character for which is 侄 meaning 'obstinate,' is used instead of 姪: K'ang Hsi's Dictionary notes this common misuse of a character having the same sound.

As to 甥 SHENG, K'ang Hsi's Dictionary adds that in ancient times it was also used to designate the husband of a daughter.

Both a sister's son and the husband of one's daughter, though near relations, are outside the agnatic family clan of China as it now exists, and, so far as can be ascertained, existed from the earliest times.

In the SHE KING, The Odes, shêng occurs with the meaning of a sister's child once as indicating such a niece, and once such a nephew.*

The *Erh* the oldest Chinese lexicon, is quoted, though not with concurrence, by the *Shuo Wên* as saying:

"My Aunt's son is a 'Shêng'; my maternal Uncle's son is a 'shêng'; my wife's brother is a 'shêng'; my sister's husband, my brother-in-law, is a 'Shêng.'" †

Shêng is used with the meaning of 'son-in-law' in the works of Mencius, where it is said: "Shun went to Court "and saw the sovereign who lodged him as his son-in-law in "the second palace."

Shun 舜 to whom, as a just man and future ruler, the great Yao 堯 gave his two daughters in marriage, "to try him," is the most famous and discussed son-in-law in Chinese history.

In Chinese tables of kindred one's nephew the son of one's own married sister is indicated by the characters 外 甥 WAI-SHENG or with the addition of 子 TZU, or 兒 ERH as indicating a male; one's niece the daughter of one's sister being indicated by the same character with the addition of the sex indicator NU, female.

In a note to the Table of Consanguinity given in Jamieson's translation of, and notes on, the 'Marriage Laws' of China (*China Review*, Vol. X) that authority says:

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* She King, Legge. *Chinese Classics.* Pt. III. Bk. III. Ode VII, V. 4. Pt. 1, Bk. VIII. Ode 2 XI, V. 2.

† Legge. *Chinese Classics.* 2nd Edit. Vol. II. p. 378.

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"All descendants of sisters 姊 妹" (姊 TZU, TSZ), being one's elder sister and 妹 MEI one's younger sister)" "are characterized as 外甥" WAI SHENG.

The prefix 外 WAI, outside, external, is here used with the meaning of external to, outside of, one's own agnatic family. As Giles' Dictionary says, 外 WAI is specially applied to relatives through the female branches.

This Wai-Shêng is the 'Wae-sung' of Morgan, and of Starcke. It is interesting to note that although Hart in this matter, as doubtless in others connected with Chinese nomenclature, did his best to explain what the Chinese designations connoted, the learned writers who built on the materials supplied by him insisted on their own point of view. Thus Starcke says :

"Morgan goes on to say that the man calls his sister's son WAE-SUNG, which Hart translates 'as outside nephew.' Wae signifies outside, and Sung, originally signifying 'the daughter's child,' acquires the meaning of 'sister's son' when preceded by Wae. 'Outside child' would, perhaps, be a more correct translation. The sister's daughter is called WAE-SUNG-NEU translated by Hart as daughter of the Wae-sung class. As we have said above, this might be translated as 'outside female child' or niece." *

The 'general' term and also the 'colloquial' term as given by May for a nephew the son of a sister is WAI SHENG, the 'polite' term being 令甥 LING SHENG, honourable nephew (the son of one's sister), and the 'self-depreciating' term being 舍甥 SHE-SHENG, my humble nephew (son of my sister).

Hart had rightly informed Morgan that Wae meant 'outside' ; and, as we have seen, the character as used in describing kindred connotes that the relative of whose designation the character 'wae' is part is outside one's own agnatic family. Starcke, however, wrongly insisted that 'Wae' meant 'outside' the generation of the speaker.†

The different characters with the primary connotation of 'external' which are used in the Chinese designations of kindred, and which it may be convenient to here deal with are as follows :

外 WAI, the 'Wae' of Starcke's, and of Morgan's tables, already commented on, and which Giles says is "specially applied to relatives through the female branches"—that is, of one's own agnatic family. ‡

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* Starcke, *The Primitive Family*. p. 202. † Starcke. *The Primitive Family*. p.p. 203-4. ‡ Giles' Dictionary (No. 12.442).

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姨 I (the 'e' of Morgan's, and of Starcke's tables) which as a noun has the primary meaning of a wife's sister, and also of a mother's sister; and which as a prefix in designations of kindred means descended through the mother's sister. The use of 姨 I, as a noun, with the meaning of a mother's sister, or of a wife's sister, and the inferences which may be drawn therefrom, will be referred to later.

Starcke's conclusion was that 'e' 'stranger woman,' used as a 'particle' indicated remote kinship to the 'speaker' of his, and Morgan's Tables.*

表 Piao, the 'peaou' of Morgan's and of Starcke's tables, which has the primary meaning of 'outside' is, Giles says: "a term of relationship applied to all descendants of female relatives on the father's side; and on the mother's side, to all descendants from a mother's brother or her male first cousins of the same surname."†

The character 甥 SHENG being itself, as has been said, a 'descriptive' term for a nephew the son of a married sister, a non-agnatic nephew, it is not surprising to find that the adjective 外 WAI, non-agnatic, is, as May says, sometimes omitted in the phrases denoting such nephews. The son of a sister's son is in tables of kindred indicated by the characters 外甥孫 WAI-SHENG-SUN.

The character 孫 SUN, has the meaning of grandson, an agnatic grandson. An agnatic grand-daughter is indicated by 孫女 SUN-NU. A grandson the son of a daughter is 女孫 NU-SUN.

In describing the son of a sister's son as 外甥孫 WAI-SHENG-SUN the Chinese do not thereby indicate that one's sister's grandson is a grandson of one's own, nor does the phrase connote that he might ever possibly have been one's own grandson. The term does connote that one's sister's grandson belongs to the same generation as one's own grandson, counting down from a common ancestor, in this case one's own father.

Whether a relative, agnatic or non-agnatic, is 'classed' as Morgan would say, as a nephew or grandson, or, as the fact is, described by one of characters forming the phrase denoting his exact position therein as a relative of the same generation as one's own nephews or one's own grandsons (and whose exact relation to oneself is given by the other characters in the compound phrase used to indicate that relative), depends in China on that relative's place in the family, his generation of descent. In stating such descent one's father and one's mother are counted as being of the

*Starcke. *Op. cit.* p.p. 203-6. † Giles' Dictionary (No. 9114.)

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same generation, and so on as regards remoter relatives counting downwards from agnatic ancestors of one's father, or of one's mother.

One's own paternal grandfather and one's own maternal grandfather, for instance, are taken as being of the same generation and so on in, and across, the ascending lines.

If Starcke's deduction from Morgan's Tables of Kindred, and on which he worked, "that the Chinese possess the third "characteristic feature of the Turanian system—that is, that a man's brother's children rank as his own, while his sister's children are nephews and nieces" were correct, which so far we found it is not, then in China a nephew the son of a brother would designate his father's brother in the same manner as his own father; and on the other hand a nephew the son of a sister would designate his mother's brother as an 'Uncle'.*

The Chinese character for father is, as we have seen 父 FU. May gives the 'general' term for father as 父 親 FU-TS'AN, in Pekinese FU-CH'IN, one's dear father. It is interesting to note that one of the 'colloquial' terms for father given by May is 亞 巴 A-PA, the same baby sound PA, father, which is found in so many languages.

A Chinese designates his paternal uncle, his father's elder brother as 伯 父 PO-FU, and his father's younger brother as 叔 父 SHU-FU.

The character 伯 PO, by itself has the primary meaning of a father's elder brother. The character 叔 SHU by itself has the meaning of a father's younger brother.

The 'colloquial' forms of description as given by May are for elder paternal uncle 亞 伯 A PO, and for younger paternal uncle 亞 叔 A SHU.

The character 父 FU, father, added to the two given descriptive characters for elder and younger paternal uncle respectively indicate the deference due, in China, to a father's brothers, and is not a relic of a communal marriage.

One's mother's brother, one's maternal uncle, is indicated by the character 舅 CHIU. The 'colloquial' term for a mother's brother as given by May is 舅 父 CHIU FU. Here as in the case of the FU added to the terms PO and SHU, just dealt with, the term FU, father, is added to the designation of the maternal, as well as to that of the paternal, uncles as an indication of the respect due to one's near relations of the same generation as one's own father.

* Starcke. *The Primitive Family.* p. 202.

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Again, if the deduction of Starcke above referred to were correct, a man in China would designate the sons of his father's brothers as 'brothers,' while calling or designating the children of father's sisters by some term or terms having the distinctive meaning of 'cousins.'

There is no single Chinese character meaning 'cousin.' In China all cousins 'first,' 'second' or 'third,' that is cousins of the same generation as one's self, agnatic or cognatic, are designated by descriptive phrases clearly marking their place in the family as descended from a common ancestor with oneself on the father's or on the mother's side of the family, and as being of the same generation in such descent as one's self.

In all such designations the Chinese characters for elder, or younger brother, and for elder, or younger, sister form part.

The Chinese character denoting an elder brother is 兄 HSIUNG, that denoting a younger brother is 弟 TI. The character denoting an elder sister is 姊 TZU (TSZ), not to be confused with 子 TZU, male (used as we have seen, to indicate one's own son in tables of kindred). The character denoting a younger sister is 妹 MEI.

One's first cousins, the sons of one's father's brother are thus designated as 堂兄 T'ANG-HSIUNG for the elder, and 堂弟 T'ANG-TI for the younger, their sisters being designated as 堂姊 T'ANG-CHIEH for the elder; and 堂妹 T'ANG-MEI for the younger.

This T'ANG we have met before as connoting belonging to one's ancestral hall, agnatic.

One's first-cousins the children of one's father's sister are designated in like manner, but with the character PIAO 表, 'external' as the prefix; thus 表兄 PIAO-HSIUNG and 表弟 PIAO-TI for such male cousins and 表姊 PIAO-TZU and 表妹 PIAO-MEI for such female cousins.

One's first cousins the children of one's mother's sister are designated in like manner but with the character 姨 I, as the distinguishing prefix. Thus 姨兄 I-HSIUNG, and 姨弟 I-TI. for such male cousins and 姨姊 I-TZU and 姨妹 I-MEI, for such female cousins.

This compound character 姨 I, primarily has the meanings of a wife's sister, a mother's sister. A mother's sister, however, in Chinese tables of kindred is designated as 姨媽 I-MA.

In the Chinese language we thus have not one character, or expression for 'nephew' as we have in English, but two characters: One CHIH denoting nephews, and with a sex indicator nieces, of one's own surname, and another SHENG denoting nephews,

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and with a sex indicator nieces, whose surname is different from one's own.

As we have seen, there is not now, nor so far as is ascertainable, has there been in the past any confusion in the Chinese mind between one's own children and those of one's brother ; nor yet between any of these and the children of one's sister.

In China the sons of a brother are for a certain definite and limited purpose ranked with one's own sons, while other nephews, the sons of a sister, are not.

The son of a brother and one's own son are so ranked together in determining what mourning shall be worn for them by certain relatives, and in determining what mourning they should wear for those relatives, if dying before them. This ranking is in relation to their mutual agnatic connection through a common ancestor.

Death and the respect evidenced by wearing mourning being to the Chinese mind the most important facts in life, it is most natural and indeed inevitable that in China one should in life envisage one's relatives not only paternal, but maternal also, as persons for whom such and such mourning will be worn on their death, and classify them accordingly.

The son of a full brother and one's own son are when dead honoured by the same degree and description of mourning being worn for them.

A Chinaman and all his brothers wear, or should wear, the same mourning for all the agnatic grandsons of their father, namely, the Second Degree of Mourning 齊衰 TZU T'SUI, clothes of coarse hempen fabric with hemmed borders worn for one year. The same degree, and kind, of mourning is worn for one year by a man for the following relatives :—

His grandparents ; his paternal uncles, and their wives, his unmarried paternal aunt ; his brothers, his unmarried sisters ; his wife ; sons of wives (or concubines) ; the wife of his first-born son ; his agnatic nephews ; his unmarried agnatic nieces, his grandson ; the first-born son of his first-born son ; and his own daughter.*

The agnatic basis of the Chinese family is evidenced by the fact that a man's unmarried paternal aunts, his unmarried sisters, and his unmarried agnatic nieces, having died while still full members of his own agnatic family, are honoured, as his own son is, as full relatives of the Second Degree, that is, relatives

*Tables of Mourning in *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*, and as given by Medhurst and Pierre Hoang.

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for whom the Second Degree of Mourning is to be worn for one year.

In view of the importance attached by writers on social origins to the position, privileges, and duties of the mother's brother in some races and the deductions as to primitive marriage customs drawn therefrom,* it is to be noted that in China for the brother of one's own mother the'fourth degree'only of mourning is worn, that for five months, and that the same mourning is worn for a mother's sister.

The question as to whether, or not, in China the son of a brother is classed with one's own son was not first propounded by Morgan or considered by Starcke.

We have seen that the discoverer, and the propounders, of the 'classificatory system of relationships' drew mistaken conclusions, on the incomplete facts before them, as to the meaning and import of the nomenclature of the Chinese branch of their 'Turanian and Ganowanian Family.' It is true, however, that in China as regards the mourning to be worn for them the sons of brothers do rank with one's own sons.

In the Second Book of the *Lî Kî*, the T'AN KUNG, a book concerned with questions as to burial and mourning, it is said :

"The mourning worn for the son of a brother should be the same as for one's own son : the object being to bring him still nearer to one's own self. An elder brother's wife and his younger brother do not wear mourning for each other ; the object being to maintain the distance between them. Slight mourning is worn for an aunt, and an elder or younger sister (when they have been married) ; the reason being that there are those who received them from us, and will render to them the full measure of observance."

In this answer as given we have a philosophic reasoning on ancient facts : a reference to that 'Fraternal Principle' 悌 TI, which was and is only second to the Patriarchal Principle' 孝 HSIAO, as an element of Chinese faith and life. †

That love, duty, mutual respect and forbearance between brothers which together with 'filial piety,' respect towards one's parents and elders, was the foundation on which the joint-family life of the Chinese was based, and without which it could not have existed.

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* *Totemism & Exogamy*. Vol. IV, p. 289. *Folk Lore in The Old Testament*. Vol. II, p. 203.

†See E. H. Parker, *Comparative Chinese Family Life*, p. 2.

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There is also in this text from the *Lî Kî* a reference to the distance to be maintained between the sexes, the observance of which also helped to make the joint family life of all the members of three or more generations living in one dwelling place, and clustered round one principal hearth, decently possible.

A very full exposition of Chinese law and custom as to mourning is given in his 'Annotations aux Tableaux du Deuil d'après les Lois Chinois' by Pierre Hoang in '*Le Mariage Chinois*.'

A most clear statement, and explanation of the 'Degrees of Mourning' is given by Sir Walter (then Mr.) Medhurst in his *Marriage, Affinity and Inheritance in China, quoted* by Legge in the Appendix to Book II of his translation of the *Lî Kî*.*

The 'Four Grades of Relationship are also discussed by von Möllendorff.†

The preliminary chapter of the *Ta C'hing Lu Li*, a revision of the fundamental criminal and civil law and custom of China as re-enacted under the Ch'ing (Ts'ing) Manchu Dynasty, deals with The 'Dress of Mourning.' This chapter is referred to, and extracts given from it, by Sir George Staunton in his translation of the Code published in 1810.‡

This part of the code was, however, dealt with and used by Medhurst, as Legge notes, in the Essay on *Marriage, Affinity, and Inheritance in China*, above referred to.

Death, mourning, and the proper observance of funeral etiquette having in the Chinese mind that importance already referred to, and the *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li* not being in the hands of the people, 'the stupid people,' of China, the Degrees of Mourning and the particular relatives for whom they have to be worn are to be found in those books of handy reference which in China correspond to our ready-letter-writers and books on etiquette.

It was from one of these, called *Important Rules for the Officials and People*, that Von Möllendorff, as he says, based his statement of the Four Grades of Relationship and the mourning to be worn for them. The Chinese Code divides the same varying degrees of mourning into five classes, and that is the arrangement followed by Medhurst, and by Pierre Hoang.

Medhurst shortly and clearly shows how in China the classing of relatives is interwoven with the grading of mourning where he says :—

"The Ritual prescribes five different kinds of mourning, called WU FU (五 服), to be worn for all relatives within a de-

* *Sacred Books of The East*. Vol. XXVII, p. 202. † Von Möllendorff. *Op. cit.* p. 6. ‡ Staunton, *La Tsing Leu Li*, p. LXXV, p. 487.

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finite proximity of degree, graduating the character of the habit in proportion to the nearness of kin. These habits are designated by certain names, which by a species of metonymy come to be applied to the relationships themselves and are used somewhat as we apply the terms "1st degree," "2nd degree" and so on; and plans, similar to our genealogical tables, are laid down, showing the specific habit suitable for each kinsman."

We have dealt with the relationship in China of uncles and nephews as evidenced by the way in which men designate the sons of their brothers, and of their sisters, respectively.

If those writers, from Morgan to Letourneau, who claim the Chinese system of nomenclature as a proof of their thesis of past communal marriage were right, then one would expect to find in the Chinese designations of uncles, on the father's and on the mother's side, by nephews some trace of the supposed fact that "A Chinaman always calls the sons of his brother his 'sons' whilst he considers those of his sister as his nephews."*

A father's elder brother is in China designated by the character 伯 PO, a father's younger brother by the character 叔 SHU. The Chinese character meaning a mother's brother is 舅 CHIU.

We thus find in China distinct 'descriptive' designations, one for the elder and one for the younger of one's paternal uncles, and one for maternal uncles. That there should be designations differentiating between elder and younger paternal uncles, to whom special obedience, deference, and courtesy is due, is in keeping with the agnatic basis of the Chinese patriarchal family.

While these three characters PO, SHU, and CHIU have by themselves the several meanings above given, one finds that in Chinese Tables of Kindred the character 父 FU, father, is added to CHIU, the mother's brother, as well as to PO, the father's elder brother, and to SHU a father's younger brother: and in each case as a courtesy title given to near relatives of the same generation as one's father and mother.

The same characters with courtesy sex indicator 母 MU, mother, are used to designate one's aunts-in-law the wives of these same uncles, brothers of one's father, and of one's mother.

There is no indication in the Chinese designations whether 'general', 'colloquial', 'polite', or 'self-depreciating', for uncles of any kind, as given by May, of their having been at any time, however remote, 'group-fathers,' nor of maternal uncles being 'uncles' while paternal uncles were possible 'fathers.'

*Letourneau, *Op. cit.* p. 323.

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Letourneau concludes the passage already quoted from as follows :

" We have previously seen that in China proper, not only the paternal family, but the patriarchate, are rigorously established : that woman is in extreme subjection, and always disinherited ; but certain impediments to marriage can only relate to an ancient family organization which has now disappeared."*

Thus Letourneau, on the authority of Morgan, gave the weight of his authority to the proposition that Chinese nomenclature is proof that the Chinese family is a development of group-marriage.

The Chinese legal and customary Impediments to Marriage, 'Absolute,' 'On Account of Relationship,' 'On Account of Affinity,' and for other special reasons, dealt with in the TA CHING LU LI, have been set out by Von Möllendorff, and discussed and explained by Parker, and by Jamieson.†

As regards the thread-bare heresy as to the mean position of women in China, it would be beyond the scope of this essay to deal at any length with the opposed views of Legge,‡ and of the Marquis D'Hervey-Saint-Denys, as to the position of woman in classical China.

The Ode, *Ts'ae pin,* of the time of King Wan, describing the diligence and reverence of the wife of an officer taking her part in the service of his ancestral temple, says :

" The plants, when closed her toil, she puts
In baskets round and baskets square.
Then home she hies to cook her spoil,
In pans and tripods ready there.
In sacred chamber this she sets,
Where the light falls down through the wall.
'Tis she, our lord's young reverent wife,
Who manages this service all."

In the Ode *Ts'oo Ts'ze,* describing the sacrifice in the Ancestral temple, it is said :

" Before the fires some reverent stand ;
Some take the mighty trays in hand ;
These with the roasted flesh they fill,
Those with the livers broiled. Then still
And reverent, the queen presides,
And every smaller dish provides,
The pious feast to grace."

* Letourneau *Op. cit.* p. 324. † Von Möllendorff, *Op. cit.* p. 12 et seq. Parker, *Op. cit.* p. 11 et seq. Jamieson, *Op. cit.* p. 82 et seq. ‡ Legge, Chinese *Classics.* Vol. IV. Proleg. p. 139.

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In the Ode *Tsae Shoo*, describing a village festival, it is said :

"Hark ! how the merry feast goes round !
The husbands' hearts with love abound ;
Their wives close by their sides are found."

In the Ode *Fung neen*, a song of thanksgiving for a plenteous harvest, it is said :

"From this distilled, shall spirits, strong and sweet,
Our sires and mothers with their fragrance greet,
When to their shrines each season we repair ;
And in all other rites their part shall bear."*

In the *Chiao T'eh Sêng*, the IXth Book of the *Lî Kî*, it is said :

"The bridegroom himself stands by (the carriage of the bride), and hands to her the strap (to assist her in mounting), showing his affection. Having that affection, he seeks to bring her near to him. It was by such reverence and affection for their wives that the ancient kings obtained the kingdom."

And again in the same Book of the *Lî Kî* in describing a ceremonial marriage, it is said :

"The dark coloured cap, and the (preceding) fasting and vigil (with which the bridegroom meets the bride, makes the ceremony like the service of) spiritual beings, and (the meeting of) the bright and developing and receding influences (in nature). The result of it is to give the lord for the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, and the successors of the forefathers of the past ;—is not the utmost reverence appropriate in it ? Husband and wife ate of the same victim,—this declaring that they were of the same rank. Hence while the wife had (herself) no rank, she was held to be of the rank of her husband, and she took her seat according to the position belonging to him."†

Here we have 'confarreatio,' the most solemn form of marriage, and in itself incompatible with female subjection.

In the *Ai Kung Wăn*, the XXIV Book of the *Lî Kî* it is said :

"Confucius . continued, 'Anciently, under the government of the intelligent kings of the three dynasties, it was required of a man to show respect to his wife and son. When the path (of right government) was pursued, the wife was the hostess of the (deceased) parents : could any husband dare not to show her respect ? And the son was the descendant of those parents,—could any father dare not to show him respect ?‡

She King. Legge's Metrical Translation 1876. pp. 69, 253, 358, 368.
†*Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. XXVII. pp. 440, 441
‡*Op. cit*. Vol. XXVIII. p. 266.

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The *I-Li*, Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial, in detailing the presents to be taken on a 'Mission' from one Prince to another, says*:

"They receive the presents for the Prince of the State to be visited,—silk, with a round symbol laid on it; and the half jade symbol for presentation to the Princess."

On entering the State to which the Mission was accredited the presents for the Prince were 'displayed,' and "The Mission's presents for the Prince's lady."

On arrival at the capital of the State to be visited the Mission is met, and greeted, by an 'under great-officer' sent by the Prince. "The prince's lady sends an under great-officer to recompense their toil."

Writers on social origins have attached much weight to differences between the manner in which men, and women, husbands and wives, address, or designate, the same relative.

In Chinese nomenclature the key to such differences is to be found in the fact that the family relation of any person in China, male or female, depends as to designation upon their agnatic connection with oneself, tempered as to forms of address in certain near family relationships by over-riding courtesy.

Thus a wife through her close connection with her husband's agnatic family, calls, when addressing them, her husband's nephews, agnatic and cognatic, in the same manner as her husband does. She addresses her husband's agnatic nephew as CHIH-ERH, not WAI-CHIH-ERH.

On the other hand, in view of her agnatic connection with her family of birth, a woman designates her own brother's son as NEI-CHIH.

The character NEI has here the meaning inside the agnatic family as in contra-distinction to 外 WAI, outside, which is used in Chinese nomenclature with the special meaning of outside the agnatic family.

K'ang Hsi's Dictionary, however, says that "a woman calls her own (not her husband's) brothers' sons as CHIH."

May after giving the various Chinese designations for father-in-law, notes "when the husband addresses his father-in-law he uses the same term his wife does, i.e., father": a matter of courtesy.

The initial error of the writers, whose conclusions Letourneau relied on, and which are shortly summed up by him in the passage quoted from above, was, as we have seen, in taking the

* *I-Li*. Translated by John Steele, LL.D. 1917. pp. 192, 195.

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sex indicators for male and female appended to varying 'descriptive' appellations of kindred as the name of a class,—that of 'sons' and 'daughters.' *

Another error was in taking CHIH, agnatic nephew, to be the only Chinese character meaning 'nephew' ; in thinking that there was only one character for nephew in Chinese, namely Chih ; and not as the fact is two : CHIH the son of a brother, and SHENG the son of a sister. The most serious darkening of counsel in regard to Chinese nomenclature has arisen from want, or rejection, of explanation that, in China, one's relation to anyone connected with oneself depends upon the number of one's own and that relative's generations of descent from a common ancestor, on one's father's or on one's mother's side.

If one refers to the 'Table of Consanguinity' attached to the late Mr. Jamieson's translation of and comments on Chinese Marriage Laws (*The China Review*, Vol. X p. 160), or to the Tables of Mourning in *Le Mariage Chinois*, or to the Table of Immediate Kindred attached to this essay, one sees that relatives of the same generation as one's father, or of one's mother, counting from one's father's great-grandfather in the one case, and from one's mother's grandfather in the other, have the courtesy title of 'father' or 'mother' FU or MU, as the final characters in their descriptive designations with two exceptions,—that of the father's sister, and that of the mother's sister : exceptions which will be dealt with later. Thus, on the father's side, one's father's great-grandfather's elder agnatic grandson being of the same generation descent from one's own great-grandfather, is designated by the characters 族伯父 TSU-PO-FU, which literally translated are 'clan'-elder-brother-father, one's 'clan' elder uncle on the father's side (being of the same generation as one's own father). This relative's wife is designated by the characters 族伯母 TSU-PO-MU.

The younger great-grandson of one's own great-great-grandfather is 族叔父 TSU-SHU-FU ; and his wife 族叔母 TSU-SHU-MU.

Thus in the same way one's own mother's paternal grandfather's grandson, being of the same generation as one's own parents, is designated in Jamieson's Table as 堂舅父 T'ANG-CHIU-FU ; and his wife as 堂舅母 T'ANG-CHIU-MU.

The same relative in Pierre Hoang's Tables is given as 堂母舅 T'ANG-MU-CHIU 'Hall'-maternal-uncle.

The character 舅 CHIU by itself means a maternal uncle.

* Letourneau *Op. cit.* pp. 323–4.

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The combined characters T'ANG-CHIU-FU connote an agnatic first-cousin of one's mother, and, as of her generation, of the same generation as one's uncles. Here as in all Chinese designations of kindred we have not a statement that the relative described is one of a 'class' of relatives in the sense of Morgan, but a 'descriptive' phrase, describing and giving the exact relation of that relative, and none other, to oneself.

The female relatives in China of the same generation as one's own father and mother in whose designations the character for MU, mother, is not an integral part are the sisters of one's father, and those of one's mother. The character 姑 KU, formed by the characters for 'woman' and 'ancient' combined, has the meaning of a paternal aunt, and also that of a husband's sister. The character 姨 I formed by the character 女 NU, 'woman,' and 夷 I, 'barbarian,' has the meaning of a sister of one's wife, and also that of one's mother's sister.

The sisters of one's father are members of his agnatic family by birth, not marriage : and the sisters of one's mother are members of her agnatic family, and connections of one's own, by that fact, and not by marriage.

One wears in Chinese for one's father's sisters dying spinsters the same degree of mourning as one does for one's father's brothers, namely, that for one year : the same aunts if married and then dying are still mourned for but only for nine months. The sisters of one's mother when dead, and whether married or not, are honoured by the fourth degree of mourning, that worn for five months.

The primitive original form of the character 夷 a 'barbarian,' as given in the *Shuo Wên*, in K'ang Hsi's Dictionary, and by Wieger is 𠂤, a pictogram of a man 人 holding a bow 弓.

Hopkins in his Essay 'Chinese and Sumerian' (*Proceedings, Society of Biblical Archaeology* Vols. 26 and 27), after predicating that "speech is a by-product of man's physical evolution. Writing is an achievement of his conscious effort" says : "You cannot, for instance, learn the true or full meaning of a Chinese or Sumerian word by inspecting the construction of the character assigned to it."

This may be so in cases where existing pictograms have been used phonetically to express or indicate a later idea : but it may be said that such ruling, applicable as it may be to the representation of ideas, need not apply to the combined pictograms used in Chinese script to indicate the sister of the woman the father of the family took to wife, and also the sister of the woman I myself when I marry take to wife.

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The age when the human cave-dweller first made pictures is now admitted to have been early in man's social infancy. The age when the race, of which the invading colonists of China, the founders of the Chinese race, were an offshoot, first put together the picture of a 'woman' and that of 'a man holding a bow' (or of 'an arrow' and a 'bow string' as Hopkins in his *Pictographic Reconnaissances* says) to convey the idea of a man's wife's sister may have been ages later: but it cannot, presumably, have been in an age when, if ever, man took a wife or wives from his own hearth. The use of this combination of the pictograms for 'woman' and for 'barbarian' to indicate the sister of a father's wife, and also the sister of one's own wife, must surely have begun in an age when a man took a wife to himself, and took or got that wife from a tribe other than his own.

This primitive 'descriptive' designation of one's maternal aunt, one's mother's sister, and of one's own wife's sister, would appear to be evidence not of communal marriage, but of a patriarchal family practising exogamy as the earliest traceable Chinese social unit. As the 'descriptive' designation of a paternal aunt it connoted, it is submitted, not merely a stranger to the agnatic family, but a stranger also, as the father's wife herself was before marriage, to the tribe.

Giles' Dictionary gives as the meaning of 夷, I, "To squat on the heels. Ordinary. To feel at ease; to be peaceful, pleased, just, level; to kill; to exterminate; to get rid of barbarous tribes, especially those on the East; not originally a term of contempt."*

On descending South-eastward into the valley of the Ho, the Yellow River, the forerunners of the 'Black-haired Race' would, it is to be presumed, most easily take, or find, their exogamous wives from, or among, the less organized native tribes into whose country they were pressing.

In Pierre Hoang's Tables, and in that of Jamieson, a paternal aunt is designated by the character 姑 KU alone.

May gives the 'general' term for a father's elder sister as 姑 媽 KU MA, and that for a father's younger sister as 姑 娘 KU NEUNG and also as 姑 姐 KU TSE (Pekinese KU CHIEH).

The same character KU forms part of the 'colloquial,' 'polite,' and 'self-depreciating' terms for a father's sister. In all the terms for a husband's sister, elder or younger, as given by May, 姑 KU is the principal character.

In Pierre Hoang's Tables a maternal aunt is indicated by the characters 母 姨 MU-I. In Jamieson's Table the mother's sister

*Giles' Dictionary, No. 5397.

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is given as 姨母 I-MU. This use of I-MU for I-MA is referred to in the *Shuo Wen* (published in the second century A.D.) where it is said: "In modern times a mother's sister is called 姨母 I-MU."

May gives the 'general' term for a mother's elder sister as 姨媽 I-MA, and that for a mother's younger sister as 姨娘 I-NEUNG. In the 'colloquial,' 'polite,' and self-depreciating terms for the mother's sister, elder and younger 姨, I, is the principal character.

In the 'Table of Mourning for Outside Relatives' in the Ta Ch'ing Lŭ Li a mother's sisters are described by the phrase 母之姊妹 MU-CHIH-TZU-MEI, a mother's own elder, and younger, sister.

In the same table, in referring to a mother's sister's son, and to the grandson of a mother's sister, 姨 I is the character used for mother's sister.

In all the terms for a wife's sister, elder or younger, given by May 姨 I is the principle component character.

In the Tables of Mourning as given by that popular Chinese book of reference *Important Rules for the Officials and People*, already referred to, the mother's sister is indicated, as she is in Pierre Hoang's Tables, by the characters 母姨 MU-I,—that is to say the 姨 I who is the sister of my mother, my father's 姨 I as distinguished from the 姨 I who is the sister of my wife, my own I 姨. 母 MU is here used not as meaning a 'mother' but 'maternal.' The designations MU-I, or I-MU, as it is often written, have no connection with the group-mothers of a supposed primitive Chinese group-marriage.

The character 媽 MA, in I-MA, is itself a compound of the characters 女 NU, woman, and 馬 MA, horse, and has, as given by Giles, the meanings "A mare, an old woman, a mother."

We have seen that the Chinese have, as many other races have, the baby sound of PA as a name for a father; and they also have 媽媽 MA-MA for mother, and also as a familiar name for a wife.

In the Northern Provinces of China it is not unusual for a husband to call his own wife MA-MA 媽媽.

In *Totemism and Exogamy* Frazer refers to the Indians of North America and the Peruvian natives as races of whom it is reported that they married, or co-habited with, their own mothers.*

Had the fact, as it might have been reported, that in China a man calls his wife 'mother' been known to Morgan and other

*Frazer. *Totemism and Exogamy*. Vol. III. pp. 362-3, 579.

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exponents of the 'classificatory system of relationships,' what deductions might not have been drawn therefrom as to a primitive group-marriage and earlier promiscuity in China. The reason, or rather motive, for a middle-class father in China calling his wife 'mother' is somewhat similar to that actuating the American, or Englishman, of the same class in calling, as his children do, his wife 'Mother,'—namely an affectionate shyness in addressing his wife by her real, or pet, name in the presence of his family,—a phase of 'name avoidance.'

As we have seen all female relatives the wives of male relatives within the recognized degrees of kindred of the same generation as one's father and mother have the character 母 MU, Mother, as the last component character in their designations in Chinese Tables of Kindred. These women become one's near relatives on marriage and being of the same generation as one's mother are entitled to the courtesy designation of 'mother.' One's paternal aunts are members of one's own family by birth and are within the 'degrees of mourning.' One's mother's own sisters are near relatives by affinity, and, if unmarried, to be mourned for; and thus both paternal and maternal aunts have their own distinctive 'descriptive' designations as given above.

To these descriptive designations as given in a table of kindred 母 MU mother is added as a courtesy title when addressing them. Thus 姑 KU the paternal aunt if addressed by one of a younger generation would be called KU-MU 姑母 and, as we have seen, a mother's sister whose ancient description was 姨 I, has for centuries been, and is now, generally spoken of and addressed as I-MU 姨母

In Starcke's Table X (Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*, Table iii, Nos. 4 and 8) it is said that in Chinese if the "person addressed" is a "Mother's sister" she is addressed as "Wote $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{ta}\\\text{leaon}\end{matrix}\right\}$ Ema = my $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{great}\\\text{little}\end{matrix}\right\}$ mother." 'Wote,' 'my,' is in Morgan's Tables of Chinese relationships prefixed to the designation of each relative there dealt with. Wote Ta Ema may be translated literally as My 'Great' Maternal Aunt; TA 'great' here, however, connoting the elder of several relatives of the same grade and not, as with us, as belonging to an older generation.

May, in a note says: "If there be more than one sister older or younger than the father or mother, the first of the elder ones is designated 大 T'AI and the others, whether older or younger according to their number 2, 3, 4, etc."

May gives 'TAI I MA' as the 'colloquial' term for a mother's elder sister. Morgan's 'Leaon Ema' is apparently 'LING I MA'

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which is given by May as the 'polite' term for the same elder maternal aunt. As we have seen, I-MA as a Chinese term of relationship does not mean mother, great or little, but a maternal aunt.

In China a man can have more fathers than one, and more mothers than one, but they are not group-fathers nor group-mothers.

In the *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li* there is a heading 'Table of Mourning for three classes of Fathers and eight classes of Mothers."

In Staunton's Appendix IV a paraphrase of this section of the code is given and he says: "In the original text, there are likewise tables subjoined of consanguinity under various circumstances, and one table in particular, which describes those who are considered by the laws to be step-fathers and step-mothers, in the following manner."

Staunton then gives a short *précis* of these eleven relationship as referred to in the code.

Pierre Hoang's Eighth Table of Mourning annexed to his *Mariage Chinois* is entitled 'Du Deuil imposé pour ceux qui jouissent du Titre de Pére ou de Mére,' and is founded on the same sections of the *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*, and on the revision of the Code made in 1870 in the reign of T'ung Chih.

The three classes of 'Fathers' and eight classes of 'Mothers' may be summarized as follows:

1. 同居繼父 T'UNG CHU CHI FU. A step-father, the second husband of one's mother with whom one has gone to live on her re-marriage.

2. 不同居繼父 PU T'UNG CHU CHI FU. A step-father, the second husband of one's mother with whom one has not gone to live.

3. 從繼母嫁 TS'UNG CHI MU CHIA. A step-father, the husband of one's step-mother whom, after one's own father's death, she re-marries and with whom one also goes to live.

1. 嫡母 TI MU. Principal mother, the 'legal wife' of the father as addressed by the son of a concubine.

2. 繼母 CHI MU. A step-mother who becomes one's father's legal wife by his re-marriage.

3. 養母 YANG MU. Adopting mother. One who adopts a child in infancy and brings him up as her own son.

4. 慈母 TZ'U MU. Kind mother. A father's concubine who after the death of one's own mother, and at the father's direction, brought one up.

5. 嫁母 CHIA MU. Married mother. One's own mother who, after one's father's death, re-marries.

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6. 出母 CH'U MU. Divorced mother. One's mother who has been driven out of one's father's house, that is, divorced.

7. 庶母 SHU MU. Secondary mother. Father's concubine as addressed by sons of legal wife, or sons of other concubines.

8. 乳母 JU MU. Milk mother. A foster mother. The text of *The Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*, and Pierre Hoang confine the application of the terms JU MU to a foster-mother who was at the same time a concubine of the father, but it is commonly used to designate any wet-nurse.

There are yet more fathers and mothers to be met with in Chinese nomenclature. The son of a concubine refers to his own mother as 生母 SHENG MU, 'the mother who bore me.'

A son legally adopted by a member of his own family, his paternal uncle for example, refers to his adopted parents as SSU FU, MU 嗣父母; and having been so adopted he refers to his own father and mother as PEN SHENG FU, PEN SHENG MU 本生父, 本生母.*

Morgan's own explanation of the many 'mothers' of his 'Malayan System' as one of his stages of the human family as given in his *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, and repeated in his *Ancient Society*,† was that all the sisters of one's mother were one's 'Mothers' because they all were, or might be, the wives of one's father; whose brothers again all were, or might be, the husbands of one's mother, and of all her sisters.

McLennan in his *Primitive Marriage* had criticized this explanation by saying:

"Mr. Morgan says it is because they (the 'Mothers') are the wives of my fathers, and in the absence of a term in the language to denominate their exact relation to me, they must be called either my 'mothers' or nothing, and *e converso* I must be called their 'son.' But this is giving up his case.

"This is an explanation on the ground of poverty of language (of which no proof is adduced—nay more, of which there are facts to disprove), not an explanation from the nature of descents. And, indeed, if a man is called the 'son' of a woman who did not bear him, his being so called clearly defies explanation on the principles of natural descent. The imputed relationship is not, in that case, 'the one actually existing as near as the parentage of individuals could be known'; and accordingly Mr. Morgan's

*Pierre Hoang, *Op. cit* Tab. VIII. †Morgan. *Ancient Society* 1877 p. 409 et seq.

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proposition is not made out."* The proposition as to the 'Malayan System' referred to by McLennan was restated by Morgan in his *Ancient Society* as follows: "It is in part a system of blood relationships and in part of marriage relationships."

Morgan then replies to McLennan as follows:

"On the face of the statement the question involved is not one of parentage, but of marriage relationship. A man calls his mother's sister his mother, and she calls him her son, although she did not bear him. This is the case in the Malayan, Turanian and Ganowánian systems. Whether we have consanguine or punaluan marriages, a man's mother's sister is the wife of his reputed father. She is his step-mother as near as our system furnishes an analogue; and among ourselves a step-mother is called mother, and she calls her step-son son. It defies explanation, it is true, as a blood-relationship, which it does not pretend to be, but as a marriage relationship, which it pretends to be, this is the explanation."†

The Chinese family relationships were, as we have seen, included by Morgan in his 'Turanian' type of the human family. Morgan and McLennan, pioneers in the modern investigation of social phenomena, differed as we see as to the explanation of certain facts which they both assumed to be true.

Morgan himself collected his facts as to the system of relationship of the Iroquois, with whom he lived. As to the family relationship of the 'Turanian,' in which he includes the Chinese, and other races of mankind. Morgan worked upon answers obtained by the Diplomatic and Consular Representatives of the United States in foreign lands to a questionnaire sent to them.

As to the Chinese family, and its nomenclature, the questions put, or the answers given, must have been misunderstood: A man in China does not 'call his mother's sister his mother,' nor does she 'call him her son.'

Morgan in his *Ancient Society* contradicted McLennan's view that the 'Classificatory System of Relationship' was a system of modes of addressing persons, and re-affirms his, Morgan's, view that it was a 'System of consanguinity and affinity.‡

In his *Ancient Society*, Morgan says: "The most primitive system of consanguinity yet discovered is found among the Polynesians, of which the Hawaian will be used as typical. I have called it the Malayan system. Under it all consanguinei, near and remote, fall within some one of the following relation-

*McLennan. *Op. cit.* p. 345–6. †Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 519–20.
‡ Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 521.

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ships, namely, parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, brother and sister. No other blood relationships are recognized." The passage just quoted from ends as follows :

"Of the ancient general prevalence of this system of consanguinity over Asia there can be no doubt, because it is the basis of the Turanian system still prevalent in Asia." "It also underlies the Chinese."*

Westermarck in *The History of Human Marriage*, published in 1903, criticized Morgan's hypothesis of promiscuity ; and, after a consideration of the nomenclature in Morgan's Tables, and the terms for relationship relied on by Morgan as inferring promiscuity as a primitive stage of the human family says : "There can be scarcely any doubt that the terms for relationship are, in their origin, terms of address."†

Could it be shown that, at any time, in China a man called, addressed, or described, *simpliciter*, without difference and sans phrase, any woman other his own mother who bore him, as his mother, then such fact would be strong presumptive evidence that such woman, or class of women, might have had marital relations with that man's father, evidence in fact of 'group-marriage' : but we have found no evidence of any such usage in the Chinese nomenclature.

The Chinese names, or rather designations, for kindred are not in fact 'classificatory' in the sense of Morgan's 'Classificatory System' ; they are, as we have seen, each and every of them 'descriptive.'

Although one does not find in the Chinese designations for their kindred in blood, or relations by marriage, any names, or rather characters or phrases, from which a primitive Chinese group-marriage can be inferred, traces of such a stage of family life in China, if it ever did exist, might be found elsewhere in Chinese records, or customs.

The *Chou Li* in stating the duties of the Mei-Chi, Marriage Officers, says :

"In the middle month of Spring, he orders the men and women to assemble. At this season those who unite without observing the six rites of marriage are not hindered, those who without any special excuse have not conformed to the Edicts [as to marriage] are punished by the Marriage Officer. He examines the unmarried men and women and calls them together." ‡

* Morgan. *Op. cit.* pp. 385–6. † Westermarck. *History of Human Marriage.* p. 89. ‡ *Chou Li.* Biot's French Translation. Vol. 1. pp. 307-8.

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Mons. Ed. Biot who translated the *Chou Li* into French draws attention, a in note on the passage just quoted, to a still older Chinese text which refers to marriages in the Spring, namely, the *Hsia-Hsiao-Chêng* (夏小正) the 'Lesser Calendar of the Hsia Dynasty,' part of which was found in the tomb of Confucius, and to which a date of 2,400 to 1,700 B.C. is assigned. Biot translated into French the extant portions of the Calendar, and they are to be found as a Note to his Essay 'Recherches sur la Temperature Ancienne de la Chine' in Volume X of the *Journal Asiatique*.

The succeeding events of the then Chinese year are given shortly under the heading of each month. Biot notes that the First Month of the Year in the times of the Hsia Dynasty was that immediately preceding the Spring Equinox. One of the happenings of the Second Moon is that "many women and young men are made happy. On a lucky 'Ting-hou' day, many people set up house."

In the *Lî Kî* there is a similar calendar,—the Yüeh Ling perhaps derived from the same original as that of Hsia, in which the official, and natural, happenings of each month of the year are directed and noted. Of the second month of Spring it is there said :

> "In this month the swallow makes its appearance. On the day of its arrival, the son of Heaven sacrifices to the first match-maker with a bull, a ram, and a boar. He goes to do so in person, with his queen and help-mates, attended by his nine ladies of honour. Peculiar courtesy is shown to those whom he has (lately) approached. Bow-cases have been brought, and a bow and arrows are given to each before (the altar of) the first match-maker."*

Westermarck in the second chapter of his work *The History of Human Marriage* discusses, it may be said proves, the existence of a human pairing season in primitive times. After giving observed instances of marriages among various savage people being contracted at a certain time of the year, Westermarck says : "It seems, therefore, a reasonable presumption that the increase of the sexual instinct at the end of Spring or in the beginning of summer, is a survival of an ancient pairing season, depending upon the same law that rules in the rest of the animal kingdom."†

When Biot translated the *Chou Li*, a translation published in 1851, after his death, a primitive human mating time depend-

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* *Sacred Books of the East.* (The *Lî-Kî*, Legge). Vol. XXVII. p. 259.

† Westermarck. *Op. cit.* p. 34.

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ing on the periodicity of desire was not a subject of research, and one can understand how the editors of Mons. Biot's translation of the *Chou Li* noted that they thought the passage in the *Chou Li* as to the duties of the Marriage Officer, quoted above, must be corrupt, in that it said that in the middle month of Spring those who were united without observing the 'six rites of marriage' were at that time allowed to do so.*

In view, however, of the researches since made as to a yearly marriage period observed by primitive races, is it not more likely that in the quoted passages from the Lesser Calendar of the Hsia Dynasty, the *Lî Kî*, and the *Chou Li* we have the record of such an annual mating time in China, an unbroken link with a prehuman past? As shortly described in the documents referred to, it is not however 'group-marriage' or the supposed earlier stage of unrestricted promiscuity which we find, but marriage, in a group it is true, of individual husbands and wives.

All writers on the family nomenclature of primitive races, names, and 'name-avoidance' refer to the difficulties experienced in getting answers to direct questions as to such matters, even from those in a position to supply them.

This difficulty was experienced by such a well equipped inquirer as May, and yet what far-reaching and erroneous conclusions have been come to, and to this day repeated by writers not so equipped, as regards the nomenclature of China.†

Sir Henry Maine said that it was difficult to say 'what society of men had not been originally based on the Patriarchal Family'; the expounders of the 'classificatory system of relationships' have felt no such difficulty; but would it not be well that the facts upon which they rely should be re-examined?‡

As regards China, there is nothing in the names for, or the modes of addressing, relatives to show that E-Yin, the Chief Minister of the first four Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty was mistaken when, in advising King T'ae Keah, in 1539 B.C., he said "The Commencement is in the family and State; the consummation in the Empire."§

For kindly assistance, criticism and correction thanks are due to my friend Sir James H. Stewart Lockhart, K.C.M.G., and my interpreters K. C. Tsang 張 圖 珍 and Wên Kuai-fu 傅 文 魁.—H. P. W.

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* *Chou Li.* Biot's translation. Vol. I, p. 307. † May. *Op. cit.* p. 15. ‡ Maine. *Ancient Law.* p. 132. § Legge. *Ch. Classics.* Vol. II. pt. 1. p. 795.

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THE 'NATURAL' BASIS OF CONFUCIAN ETHICS

BY

WILLIAM S. A. POTT.

In his essay on Religious Sentiment Matthew Arnold sums up pagan and mediæval Christian feeling in the arresting words, "When we see Pompeii, we can put our finger upon the pagan sentiment in its extreme. And when we read of Monte Alverno and the *stigmata*, when we read of the repulsive, because self-caused, sufferings of St. Francis's life — we can put our finger on the mediaeval Christian sentiment in its extreme." The traveller who visits Taishan, one of the sacred mountains of China, might with propriety consider that here he is viewing, in a sense, an epitome of Chinese civilization. And it is not merely the fact that he is standing upon so-called holy ground that induces this reflection. We mean something more than this. What actually provokes this train of thought is the unenviable lot of those chair-bearers, who, nimble and sure of foot as mountain goats, ascend and descend the sacred mount with their human loads. We are told that we have little idea of the training that these chair-bearers have to undergo, the exacting practice from youth with first inanimate burdens that has to be endured, and the physical punishments that must be suffered for mistakes and failures. Here is this strange juxtaposition then of the inspiring with the demeaning, of what elevates human nature with what degrades it. Is it not a good cross-section of Chinese society and Chinese civilization as a whole? Or if our allusion seem too fanciful, the plain every-day mal-adjustments of Chinese society will do for a point of departure. There is surely nothing new in saying that Confucianism is the cause of much of the present obsolescence, but our wish is to be more specific. Can we then with profit consider the so-called "natural" basis of Confucian ethics, try to see a little more clearly what the expression means, and gain thereby perhaps a better idea of the merits and defects of the Confucian ethical system as a whole?

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The Confucian ethics, with all its apparent artificialities, its meticulous prescriptions, its punctilious regard for forms and ceremonies, this, to us, elaborate and clumsy superstructure is yet reared upon a certain basic view of human nature as somehow good and in some way designed for morality. This proposition is central to the teaching of both Confucius and Mencius, and is stoutly maintained against the ultra-egoism of such philosophers as Yang-tze. The view is at times suffused with a vague metaphysical flavor, as, for example, in the opening sentences of the Doctrine of the Mean. (中 庸) "Being without inclination to either side is called *Chung*; admitting of no change is called *Yung*. By *Chung* is denoted the correct course to be pursued by all under heaven; by *Yung* is denoted the *fixed principle regulating all under heaven*. This work contains the law of the mind, which was handed down from one to another, in the Confucian school, till Tsze-sze, fearing lest in the course of time errors should arise about it, committed it to writing, and delivered it to Mencius. *The book first speaks of one principle; it next spreads this out, and embraces all things; finally it returns and gathers them all up under one principle.* Unroll it, and it fills the universe; roll it up and it retires and lies hid in mysteriousness—"* There is somehow a feeling, quite obscure and adumbrated, to be sure, but amounting nevertheless to the force of a conviction, that the whole universe is in some way pursuing a path that is, in the last analysis, good; and that human nature, as a phase of the cosmic process, has a course fixed *in rerum natura* that must be followed. This is called the way of Heaven. I do not press this latter point. Perhaps it cannot be pressed too far and it is not altogether vital to our present inquiry. It is more common to other thinkers who were more metaphysically minded than Confucius. But the latter's writings contain explicit statements that man is by nature good and that accordingly morality is, as Aristotle said, "the proper business of mankind." The ideal of the superior man is, then, regarded as a natural ideal. And it then follows, not by any process of proof or rational justification, but simply by constant asseveration, that the conduct of the superior man (as interpreted by Confucius and his followers, let us note) is the 'natural' and therefore best life! This is, of course, not logic. It is equivocation. But this is not a wholly unfair characterization of the thought process which serves almost as a matrix in which the maxims of the sage are set. The standards of the Superior Man were actually taken from an earlier and idealized Golden Age,

*Legge's Translation (italics mine).

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so remote that they might well be conceived as grounded in the very nature of things, and then set up again and systematically re-interpreted. Many of the moral conceptions recommend themselves on account of their own inherent excellence, but they do not, except by a confusion of thought, derive their validity or authority from the general view of the natural excellency of human nature. Herein lies the great defect of the Confucian ethics in its practical consequences. If an ethical system, drawn up at a particular time and in a certain society, and subject to the limitations of the period, be regarded as true 'naturally,' *in secula seculorum*, not only in its *general standpoint* but in all its *details*, then it straightway becomes inflexible and incapable of any inner self-modification. We apply the same criticism to our own intuitional ethics. Thus the view of human nature which we began by declaring good is really exploited in the interests of maintaining a moral *status quo*. We would take two passages from the Book of History to illustrate the confusion of thought that Confucius inherited whereby the specific features of the moral life are thought of as having an unquestioned sanction. "The great God has conferred upon (even) the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature *invariably* right;"* "From Heaven are the social relationships with their *several duties*; we are charged with the enforcement of those five duties, and lo! we have the five courses of honorable conduct. From Heaven are the (social) distinctions with their *several ceremonies*—."†

All chance of change in any direction is now precluded *ab initio*, and a morality that is dynamic and prospective in outlook is forever impossible. Conservatism in the form of a recessional chanting of the past is the only thing left. The practical sequel is . . . well, the toilers of Taishan Mountain. We cannot with real profit make use of our natural principle in this fashion. As well might we declare that because eating is a perfectly natural function therefore particular methods of consuming food are fundamentally and eternally right and proper. All change of is improvement removed,—the improvement not simply of an ethical system, but, what is more important, the progressive improvement of man in society.

Nor can it be said that our western ethical systems have transformed to any appreciable extent our western life. And it must not be thought that we are claiming this superiority for them as against the ineffectiveness of Confucianism for reform.

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* Book III. The *Announcement of Thang*. Book II. The *Counsels of Kao-Yao*. † Legge's trans. (Italics mine).

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The ethical progress of the West, as shown in the lives of individuals, and the improved democratic conceptions of society have not been due to the systems of our moral philosophers. They are due to the action of forces by which they themselves were influenced and which, it is to be regretted, they have not sufficiently recognized or sought to direct. This has been the great failure of our western ethical speculation, as the writer sought to show in a previous article in this journal*. Western ethics has been so beguiled by the search for the *summum bonum*, the one highest good of life, so intrigued by what Professor Perry in another connection aptly calls the "speculative dogma" that it has lost touch with the concrete moving forces in society which it is its business to interpret. It has, in short, neglected valuable opportunities to be of use. This is philosophy's standing reproach and the theme upon which Dewey and other contemporary thinkers are so forcefully dwelling. Our social and ethical philosophy need not be so ineffective and 'impractical,' but can and ought to be an active force for betterment. "The social philosopher, dwelling in the region of his concepts," says Dewey, "solves problems by showing the relationship of ideas, instead of helping men to solve problems in the concrete by supplying them with hypotheses to be used and tested in projects of reform. Meanwhile, of course, the concrete troubles and evils remain. They are not magically waived out of existence because in theory society is organic. The region of concrete difficulties, where the assistance of intelligent method . . . is urgently needed, is precisely where intelligence fails to operate. In this region of the specific and concrete, men are thrown back upon the crudest empiricism, upon short-sighted opportunism and the matching of brute forces. In theory, the particulars are all neatly disposed of; they come under their appropriate headings and categories; they are labelled and go into an orderly pigeon-hole in a systematic filing cabinet, labelled political science or sociology. But in empirical fact they remain as perplexing, confused and unorganized as they were before. So they are dealt with not by even an endeavor at scientific method, but by blind rule of thumb, citation of precedents, considerations of immediate advantage, smoothing things over, use of coercive force and the clash of personal ambitions."† Is not this indictment in large measure entirely merited? Somehow the world has gotten along and only the pessimist will deny that it is getting better; but one is reminded of Goethe's remark some-

An Approach to the Study of Confucian Ethics, Oct. 1920.

† Dewey, *Reconstruction in Philosophy*, p. 192.

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where about what a terribly long journey humanity had to travel before it became even to a degree kind to the unkind, thoughtful to the thoughtless, just to the unjust. And the Occidental philosophies have not given very much assistance in this slow conquest of evil and stupidity.

And yet, with all its inappositeness, it is possible for western ethics, born as it was of a spirit of free inquiry and aiming always to set forth the conscious grounds of its conclusions, to become, if it would but alter its direction and turn its gaze outward, a more flexible and powerful instrument for progress than it has ever been its fortune to be in the past. The same cannot be said for the Confucian ethic. This has been rivetted for centuries to conceptions that have always been regarded as 'natural', and sanctified by age and therefore still more natural. Meanwhile we witness the phenomenon of the Chinese world slipping out from under to give it the lie. We are not here advocating the abolition of Confucianism *in toto*, but suggesting the need of a more critical and fair scrutiny thereof. Writing of the nature of ethical enquiry in the west during the Middle Ages, Hall has a sentence which we would borrow. "If ethics," says he, "is system clear cut, sharply defined, based upon final divine utterances, the examination and exposition of those utterances is the only method of approach."* The result was what we know as Scholasticism with all its "vermiculate questions." The role of Scholasticism was to systematize and elaborate truths vouchsafed once for all. And in his condemnation of the unreality and triviality of Scholasticism Francis Bacon was, in his quaintly vivid style, most unsparing. We are reminded of a passage from the *Advancement of Learning*: "This kind of dogmatic learning did chiefly reign among the schoolmen, who, having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading, but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors, chiefly Aristotle their dictator, as their persons were shut in the cells of monasteries and colleges, and knowing little history, either of nature or time, did out of no great quantity of matter, and infinite agitation of spirit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books. For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh its web, then it is endless, and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance and

* Hall, *History of Ethics within Organized Christianity*. p. 334.

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profit." The condition of Chinese ethical thought for the most part has been precisely this. If it has not been based upon final divine utterances, it none the less rests upon foundations equally sempiternal because 'natural' and authenticated by Confucius. The examination and exposition of his views then becomes the the only method of approach.

The Confucian ethic is not the only ethic that has recourse to sanctions in nature. In fact this is a feature common to most systems of morality. In some it is a good deal more explicit than in others, but in all of them the subsequent details are colored by some special conception of what is the 'natural'. Stoicism, for example, might regard its teachings as true, but a life "according to nature" for the Stoic is a very different matter from what it is, let us say, for Thomas Hobbes or for Rousseau or for Tolstoi. The view of humanity as socially inclined and potentially moral, if not actually predisposed to morality, it was the merit of Confucius and Mencius to have pointed out centuries before the view became what it is now, a psychological commonplace. The idea does not originate with them. It is found in the Book of History.* But it is a pregnant principle, and it was no small achievement to have anticipated our present conclusions at such a remote period. But how then was it employed? It was made the guarantor of the existing order and the vindicator of the particular social arrangements that had come down from antiquity. Chinese ethics has thus degenerated into dogmatism, although the dogmatism is of a very high order and expressive of a very lofty ideal of personal character.

It is to be hoped that we have not made too much of a to-do over the 'natural' basis of the Confucian ethics. We have tried to suggest wherein it is natural and wherein it is purely relative and artificial, in the sense, at least, of being human. And then we have attempted to show how the unwarranted insinuation of the 'natural' into the 'artificial' has worked a great deal of unintended mischief, and in the end is bound to spell arrest of development both for the individual and the society which largely creates him. A fresh fluidity of thought, a new mobility of mind free from the benumbing influence of an effete tradition is not to be conjured into being by mere words. It is only to be attained by an awakened curiosity, a surer method, a sounder knowledge and a wider sympathy. Without these may not Confucianism well be a hindrance rather than a help to the amelioration of Chinese society and that democratic *desideratum* of "hope and a renovation without end"?

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A STUDY OF ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN CHINA—1692-1744

BY

HOLLIS W. HERING, M.A.

(Concluded)

The Period of Repression
1723-1744

On December 20, 1722, the great K'ang Hsi died, and was succeeded by his fourth son. Yung Chêng was frankly hostile to Westerners, and his accession ushered in our third period, marked by the repression and proscription of the missionaries. During his reign and that of his successor Ch'ien Lung, the China mission was practically destroyed.

I.

As was to be expected, the first move in this repressive policy came from the mandarins. Yung Chêng's sentiments were fairly well known and hardly was he seated on the throne when there came to him a memorial from the Governor of the province of Fukien.* This memorial protested that the Roman Catholics aimed entirely to Europeanize China, and begged the Emperor to relieve the provinces of them, either accommodating them at court, or banishing them to Macao. The memorial was referred to the Board of Rites, which with great promptitude issued the Edict of January 24, 1724, prohibiting Christianity throughout the Empire, and confiscating the churches. The Peking missionaries, on account of their scientific knowledge, were to remain at court, but all others were banished to Macao † (later changed to Canton). This marked the definite turning-point in the history of the mission, for now Christianity was branded throughout the Empire as a prohibited religion, and all attempts to propagate it made illegal.

Encouraged by the reception of this edict, in 1729 one of the influential palace mandarins memorialized the Emperor to the

* Ljungstedt: 177. † Brucker: 506.

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effect that there were too many Europeans in Peking, a number of whom were useless, occupying themselves with entrapping Chinese into embracing Christianity; that some were in hiding in the provinces; and that many of the churches were not yet converted to public use.* The resulting orders were so secret that the missionaries could not learn them.

But the mandarins in the provinces did not dare go too far, for the Jesuits at Peking were still valuable to the country. Yung Chêng's powerful prime minister (his brother) relied considerably on their counsel, and consulted them, especially Father Parennin, on many state questions. Nevertheless, he could not be induced to revoke the edict exiling the missionaries from the provinces.† Moreover, his distrust of a political animus led him for a long time to refuse Gaubil's application for permission to make certain astronomical observations on the western frontiers of China. In 1730, however, the prime minister died, and the mandarins' hostility reappeared strongly. On August 8, 1732, the Board of Rites issued orders that the missionaries who had been permitted to remain in Cantons hould leave for Macao.‡ As the court still showed favour to the Peking missionaries, some of the mandarins in the provinces were blind to the fact that many exiled missionaries had returned and were at work there secretly. But in the later years of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, the viceroys of Fukien and of Kiangnan determined to execute the repressive edicts to the letter, and instituted widespread and searching persecutions.§

The growing hostility also of the people at large was shown in the increasing persecutions. In the provinces, the enemies of Christianity, as might be expected, discovered this to be a good time or paying off private scores, or for extorting money.¶ Finding their excesses condoned, they grew bolder, dragging many of the native Christians before the magistrates. These were here tortured, menaced, bastinadoed, in the effort to make them abjure the foreign religion.‖ In 1730 a severe persecution broke out in Fukien, and was only checked by the disastrous earthquakes in Peking which occurred from September 30 to October 5 of that year. The superstitious awe of the Chinese was aroused by the fact that out of 74,000 killed in the city or suburbs only 7 were Christians. •Even the missionaries felt that this was a marvellous escape, especially in the mission compound which was

* Parennin to Du Haldo, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XX, 299, 300. †Brucker: 522. ‡Ibid: 522. §Chavannes de la Giraudière: *Les Chinois pendant une Période de 4458 années*, 165. ¶Williams: II, 304. ‖Chavannes de la Giraudière: 159.

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almost wholly destroyed. It was due, as we are gravely told, to the fact that "tous nos domestiques étaient alors dans des lieux où ils ne devaient pas être." * For a while thereafter the people were quiet, but by 1741 persecution was again raging.†

The fundamental principle of the two emperors of this period (Yung Chêng and Ch'ien Lung) was to allow no missionaries in the provinces, and was certainly inspired by fear that foreign influence would through them strike at the roots of political control in China.‡ In the Middle Kingdom, there was no difference between spiritual and temporal power, and the Emperors firmly believed that in becoming Christian the Chinese people would actually come under the political authority of the missionaries. These, in turn, were themselves constantly invoking an infallible Western sovereign. § Yung Chêng declared this in so many words, for he exclaimed to the Jesuits :

> " Vous prétendez que votre loi n'est pas une loi fausse. Je le crois. . . Vous voulez que tous les Chinois se fassent chrétiens, votre loi le demande, je le sais bien ; mais dans ce cas-là, que deviendrions-nous ? *les sujets de vos rois.*"¶

From this arose the rather anomalous policy of favouring the missionaries at Peking, and proscribing more and more rigorously those in the provinces. Yung Chêng, on his accession, was greatly angered that, in defiance of the Chinese law, many of the missionaries had crept back to the interior without the Imperial license. ‖ It was this which made him approve the action of the Board of Rites in 1724, banishing the provincial missionaries to Canton. It was this which inspired his reply in regard to the memorial of Benedict XIII :

> " I cannot permit the missionaries to live in the provinces. Why does your pope wish them to be in the provinces? If I sent bonzes to Europe, how would you treat them ? As fanatic disturbers of the peace and public mind deserve."#

This political fear was unquestionably the reason for his bitter persecution of the princely converts, the house of Sourmia. These he exiled to Manchuria, degraded, and continually persecuted to the never-ending lament of the missionaries.°

In 1726, Gaubil wrote from Peking :

> " In one word, he (the Emperor) suspects us : a thousand secret enemies speak to him against us. The past

* Brucker : 523. † Robert to Brisson, in *Lettres Edifiantes* : XXII, 482. ‡ Brucker : 504. § Chavannes de la Giraudière : 154. ¶ Ibid : 155. ‖ Ljungstedt : 177. # Ljungstedt : 196. ° Parennin to Du Halde, in *Lettres Edifiantes* : XX, 107-235.

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disputes, the visitations of the two patriarchs, the generally diffused idea that we are not loyal, and that we have no fixity in our laws—all this renders the missionaries contemptible."* Finally in 1732, as above stated, Yung Chêng ordered all the priests at Canton to be sent to Macao, with positive injunctions to quit the country by the first ship. †

His policy was continued by Ch'ien Lung, for the chief difference in the conduct of these two emperors, who, on the one hand, flattered the missionaries, and on the other signed edict after edict of repression,‡ seemed to be that Ch'ien Lung was the more violent of the two. In 1736 he came to the throne, thoroughly ready to take extreme measures to rid the country of the foreigners.§

He issued edicts against even the Peking missionaries, but these were cancelled almost at once, as he was anxious to learn about the great scientific, artistic, and industrial works of Europe. He did, however, institute a rigorous search for the Christian leaders in the provinces, and the inevitable response to this avowed act of hostility on his part was the terrible persecution of Fukien, mentioned above. ¶

II.

We have shown that both Yung Chêng and Ch'ien Lung made evident their fear of European control in the provinces. The European powers did not always act as circumspectly as might have been wished under the circumstances, and more than once during this period added fuel to the fire. Parennin had been given the position, to all practical purposes, of court interpreter in the pay of the Emperor. In this capacity, the Court of Moscow had found him so useful that the Czar Peter I and the two succeeding Czarinas regularly sent thanks to him for his services, accompanying these thanks with magnificent praises of his wisdom and his skill in statecraft.‖ This was much, coming from the power which the Chinese feared above all others.

In 1727 the King of Portugal sent an embassy to Yung Chêng which was headed by Metello de Sousa. Sousa's official instructions were to present to the Emperor Portugal's compliments on his coming to the throne, and to ask for a continuance of the good relations between the two countries. At first all went well, for the Emperor was charmed by Sousa's magnificence and pleasing personality. Unfortunately, Sousa did not stop with his

* Steinmetz, *History of the Jesuits*: III, 503. † Ljungstedt: 178. ‡ Chavannes de la Giraudière: 162. § Williams: II, 305. ¶ Ljungstedt: 178. ‖ Chalier to Verchere, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XXII, 394.

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instructions, but made a strong appeal for the missionaries to be allowed the freedom of the provinces. As Sousa was the official representative of Portugal this fanned to flame the smouldering suspicions of Yung Chêng, and on May 28, 1727, the very day of the official reception, he fulminated a repressive edict against the Christians. * He afterwards blamed Parennin very severely for not having warned Sousa against making such a plea since toleration in the provinces was something he would never grant.

But again of the European powers it remained for the papacy to give the mission its hardest blow. In 1725, the Carmelite friars Gotardo de Santa Maria and Ildefonso de Natividade arrived in China with a memorial from Benedict XIII. Although couched in complimentary phrases and suave formulae, this memorial was practically a demand that the missionaries be allowed the freedom of the provinces.† It was in reply to this that Yung Chêng, in some exasperation, likened the missionaries out in the country to "fanatic disturbers of the peace and public mind." ‡ In 1742, however, Benedict XIV gave the mission the *coup de grâce*. It must be remembered that when in 1721, Mezzabarba published his "eight permissions" in connection with the bull *Ex illa die*, some of the Orders cried out in horror. They therefore sent Father Castorani (a Franciscan and bishop of Peking) to Rome to obtain the condemation of these permissions. He had a long fight, but finally, in 1742, obtained from the pope the bull *Ex quo singulare.* § This was a drastic condemnation of Mezzabarba's concessions, and peremptorily ordered unreserved and absolute obedience to the decision of the Pope in regard to the Chinese Rites. There was no loop-hole of escape ; no further appeal was allowed. The Bull was published in China in 1744. We cannot do better, perhaps, than to recall the summing up made by Steinmetz of the conditions faced by the missionaries in their attempt to apply the Pope's decree :

> "Everything tended to aggravate the proscription. The Chinese constantly dreaded the innovations that might be introduced by the men who came with a 'national sanction' to promote the commercial views of Louis XIV ; the horrible reverses of the Church of Japan, connected with similar practices . . . the extirpation of the "Christian" religion in Tonquin ; the interminable differences of the Christians among themselves ; in fine, the striking fact, that the Dutch, Swedish, Danish and English traders at Macao differed in religion with the Chinese Christians at Macao, though taught

* Brucker : 509. † Ljungstedt : 196. ‡ *Ubi supra.* § Ljungstedt: 176.

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by Europeans—all these facts were ever present to the minds of the jealous, and shrewd, and reflecting Chinese, when Benedict XIV fulminated the last bull against the Chinese rites. . . . "*

III.

During this period the missionaries in Peking were, as a rule, safe. In the capital there were three churches and twenty-two Jesuits, ten who were French, the others Portuguese, Italians and Germans, and of these twenty-two seven were in the direct service of the Emperor.† For a while these missionaries could practice their religion openly, ‡ and at times the emperors even treated them with marked favour.§ They used every opportunity that they could seize or make to plead for Christianity and its extension in the provinces, with the natural result that more than once they endangered their own position. When in 1732 the missionaries in Canton were ordered to leave for Macao the Peking Jesuits used every scrap of influence they had to have the edict mitigated. But the only visible result of these efforts was the thorough angering of Yung Chêng so that in 1733 he threatened to expel even those in the court. ¶

This taught them a little caution, apparently, for in 1734, when a case in regard to hidden missionaries was sent to the Imperial Criminal Tribunal for the Emperor's ratification of the death-sentence, the Jesuits resorted to intermediaries. By the help of the latter they found that the scribes of the Tribunal had drawn up a minute putting the mission in the utmost danger, a minute of which Parennin himself declares that "les trois Presidens n'auroient pas même balancé à la signer de peur de paroître favoriser les Européens, dans une affaire positivement contraire aux volontés et aux ordres de l'Empereur."‖ Among other things, this minute strongly recommended a strict search for hidden missionaries in all the provinces, which would alone have spelled ruin as it would have given the Emperor a chance of carrying out the threat he had recently made against them. By means of diplomatically presenting to the scribes a considerable sum of money (one-third of two hundred pounds) the minute was changed and the crisis passed for the time being.

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* Steinmotz: III, 505. † Attiret to D'Assaut, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XXII, 524. ‡ Ibid: 521. § Parennin to Du Halde, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XX, 236. ¶ Brucker: 528. ‖ Parennin to Du Halde, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XX, 287.

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In this same year, during the persecution in Paoting-fu, Parennin wrote of those in Peking :

"Depuis le mois de mars nous avons été longtemps sans oser guères sortir de la maison, que pour aller au palais, et aux autres endroits où le service de l'Empereur demandoit notre présence. Lorsqu'il falloit administrer les sacremens aux moribonds, nous autres Européens, nous n'allions que dans les lieux où il n'y avoit point à craindre que nous fussions surpris." *

The French Jesuits, during this period, were far from cutting themselves off from their home land. Father Jacques, writing from Peking, November 1, 1727, to Souciet in France, says :

"Il faut que nous soyons liés avec Mrs. de l'Académie, et que ces Mrs. soient content de nous. Telle est l'intention du Roy, notre illustre fondateur : telles sont les intentions des supérieurs de la Compagnie qui ont souvent envoyé en Chine leurs ordres sur celà. Tels sont nos véritables intérêts."†

Considering the political fears of Yung Chêng, however, perhaps the most incomprehensible act on the part of the Peking Jesuits was in regard to the treaty of 1726. This was a commercial treaty drawn up with Russia, and Brucker proudly calls our attention to the fact that the missionaries "n'oublièrent pas les intérêts de la France ; le P. Parênnin envoya au P. De Linières, confesseur de Louis XV, pour être communiqués aux ministres du roi, une copie de ce traité, accompagnée d'amples éclaircissements." ‡

By the Edict of 1724, all missionaries were banished from the provinces, under penalty of death, unless provided with the Imperial Patent. On their part, however, the missionaries felt that they had been commissioned by the Pope to go throughout China, and the Pope's personal representative had forbidden their subscribing to this patent. That the Pope was to them a far higher authority than the Emperor they promptly made evident. Out of the thirty exiles who were at Canton, sixteen disappeared, leaving behind the strong presumption that they had returned to their congregations. It was in the exasperation following this knowledge that the Emperor issued the edict of 1732, banishing the remaining priests to Macao.§ Difficulties did not discourage them, however, for Father Attiret could write later :

"Plusieurs des Missionnaires chassés sont rentrés secrètement dans les provinces ; de nouveaux venus les ont suivis

* Ibid : 294. † *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient* : III, 222. ‡ Brucker : 507.
§ Ljungstedt: 178.

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en assez grand nombre. Ils s'y tiennent tous cachés le mieux qu'ils peuvent . . . prenant des mesures pour n'être pas découverts, et ne faisant guère leurs fonctions que la nuit." *

In 1732, Gaubil reported that the missionaries, hidden in the provinces, were for the moment not disturbed. But, he adds, "nous sommes dans des alarmes continuelles, et, à la premiére accusation, nous risquon d'être tous chassés."† And about the same time he speaks of the Spanish Dominicans hidden in the province of Fukien as suffering greatly. ‡

While thus they faithfully tried to carry on their work, the results even before 1742 were far from encouraging. Again quoting from Gaubil, we find that

> "Les lettrés et gens en place qui voudraient se faire chrétiens, nous quittent dès lors que, selon les ordres du Souverain-Pontife, nous leurs publions les décrets, même avec les permissions que laissa M. le patriarch Mezzabarba :§

When the bull *Ex quo singulare* was published in China, their position became absolutely untenable. As, by their disagreement among themselves, they had originally raised the Rites dispute and referred it to the Pope, they had now no alternative but to accept his decision. Not so the Chinese. Realizing that the Court and the educated classes were becoming more and more opposed to the missionaries, while the missionaries were setting themselves ever more uncompromisingly against ancient Chinese customs, the people at large turned against the priests. We have already mentioned the persecution in Fukien. By 1747 this had extended over all the provinces of the Empire, all foreign priests found anywhere were sent away, while Bishop Sanz and five Dominicans were killed. ¶ From that time work in the China mission was practically at a stand still until towards the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was resumed.

Thus, in this period, the Chinese edicts against the missionaries were inspired by fear of political interference on the part of the powers sending out the missionaries. This fear the latter strengthened by their close relations with foreign courts, by their disregard of the laws of China, and by their persistently placing, for themselves and their converts, the authority of a Westerner above that of the Emperor.

CONCLUSION.

One great hindrance in presenting Christianity to non-Christian peoples has always been the lack of harmony among the

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* *Lettres Edifiantes* : XXII, 521. † Brucker : 506. ‡ Ibid : 512.
§ Ibid : 501. ¶ Williams : II, 305.

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missionaries themselves. In modern times, this has been evident in the denominational differences; in the time which we have been reviewing it was evident in the disputes of the different Orders. The Jesuits, who were the first on the field, were all high-class, learned men, and made their progress by appealing to the Chinese reverence for education. They emphasized tract distribution, and, believing that where the mandarins and the literati led, the Chinese people would follow, they continually endeavoured to conciliate and learn from these two classes. Their policy was so successful that by 1692 practically all China lay open to the teaching of Christianity. On the other hand, the other Orders, arriving later on the field, made their approach direct to the common people, receiving from these the interpretation of Chinese beliefs. Feeling that the Jesuits were departing from their apostolic mission, and were allowing a criminal invasion of worldliness and heathen customs into the Catholic faith, they took the only course open to them, as they believed, and appealed to the Supreme Head of the Church. Apparently the Jesuits alone realized whither this would tend. The others either did not or could not perceive until too late that by appealing to the authority of an outside power (one, moreover, too far away to have an intelligent grasp of the situation) they were wounding the great pride of the Chinese and arousing a fear of Western political interference. The controversy which followed certainly reflected no credit on anyone concerned, and, in the eyes of the watchful Chinese, rendered Christianity contemptible. Even so, the mission might have held its position had not the foreign powers and the missionaries in China had too obvious a relationship. Here the Jesuits, by their very attainments, proved to be their own source of danger. Their great scientific researches, the results of which they sent back to their home-lands, and their linguistic attainments, of such value to foreign powers, helped to make the Chinese suspicious of their motives in coming to the Middle Kingdom.

Considered as a whole, therefore, the history of the Roman Catholic mission in China during the years 1692 to 1744 points a moral worth noting. For, by disputes among themselves, by appeals to the Pope, by the political help they gave to foreign courts, the missionaries awakened the caution of K'ang Hsi. By their tactless insistence on placing the authority of a Western power above that of the Emperor, and by their endeavours to make this idea prevail among their converts, they brought on themselves the full displeasure of the Emperors Yung Chêng and Ch'ien Lung. Therefore, we may reasonably say that *the decline of the mission from* 1692 *to* 1744 *was due to a lack of harmony among the*

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missionaries and to a lack of tact towards the Chinese which inspired in the latter a constant fear of political interference on the part of the European powers sending out the missionaries.

Appendix I.

EDICT OF TOLERATION, 1692.

"Moi, votre sujet Coupoutai, premier président de la cour souveraine des rites, et chef de plusieurs autres tribuneaux, je présente avec respect cette déclaration à votre Majesté, pour obéir à ses ordres en toute soumission. Nous avons délibéré, moi et mes assesseurs, sur l'affaire qu'elle nous a communiquée, et nous avons trouvé que ces Européens ont traversé de vastes mers, et sont venus des extrémités de la terre, attirés par votre haute sagesse, et par cette incomparable vertu qui charme tous les peuples, et qui les retient dans le devoir. Ils ont présentement l'intendance de l'astronomie et du tribunal des mathématiques. Ils se sont appliqués avec beaucoup de soin à faire des machines de guerre et à fondre des canons, dont on s'est servi dans les derniers troubles civils. Quand on les a envoyés à Nipchou, avec nos ambassadeurs, pour y traiter de la paix avec les Moscovites, ils ont trouvé moyen de faire réussir cette négociation : enfin ils ont rendu de grands services à l'empire. On n'a jamais accusé les Européens qui sont dans les provinces d'avoir fait aucun mal, ni d'avoir commis aucun désordre. La doctrine qu'ils enseignent n'est point mauvaise ni capable de séduire le peuple et de causer des troubles. On permet à tout le monde d'aller dans les temples des Lamas, des Ho-chang, des Tao-sse, et l'on défend d'aller dans les églises des Européens, qui ne font rien de contraire aux lois ; cela ne paraît pas raisonnable. Il faut donc laisser toutes les églises de l'empire dans l'état où elles étaient auparavant, et permettre à tout le monde d'y aller adorer Dieu, sans inquieter dorénavant personne pour cela. Nous attendons l'ordre de votre Majesté pour faire exécuter cet arrêt dans toute l'étendue de l'empire.

"Fait par les officiers en corps, le troisième jour de la deuxième lune de la trente et unième année du regne de Kang-hi (le 22 mars, 1692)."

Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, XX, 1848, 402.

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Appendix II.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF PRINCIPAL DATES.

1552 Death of St. Francis Xavier, near Macao.
1585 Gregory XIII, on January 25, gives the missionary care of China to the Jesuits, and confirms the "Jus Patronatus" to Portugal.
1692 On March 22, K'ang Hsi issues his Edict of Toleration.
1696 Pope divides China into fourteen Apostolic Vicariates.
1701 Clement XI appoints Charles Maillard de Tournon his legate, *a latere*.
1703 Church in the palace grounds is formally opened.
1705 K'ang Hsi grants an interview to de Tournon on Dec. 31.
1706 On August 2, K'ang Hsi condemns the attitude of Maigrot, Bishop of Conon; and on December 30 issues the edict requiring the Imperial Patent from all missionaries in China.
1707 De Tournon forbids the missionaries to subscribe to the Imperial Patent. He is imprisoned at Macao.
1710 Death of de Tournon.
1711 Memorial attacking Christianity is presented to K'ang Hsi by Fan Chao-tso.
1715 Clement XI issues the bull *Ex illa die.*
1716 Ching Mow, military mandarin of Canton, presents a memorial against Westerners to the Military Board.
1720 Patriarch Mezzabarba arrives in China.
1721 Mezzabarba grants his "eight permissions."
1722 K'ang Hsi dies on Dec. 20. He is succeeded by Yung Chêng.
1724 Yung Chêng issues an edict prohibiting Christianity throughout the Empire. All missionaries in the provinces are banished to Canton.
1727 Arrival of the Portuguese embassy headed by Metello de Sousa.
1730 Persecution breaks out in Fukien.
1732 Board of Rites orders all missionaries in Canton to quit the country by the first ship available.
1734 Persecution rages in Paoting-fu.
1736 Ch'ien Lung becomes emperor.
1742 Benedict XIV issues the bull *Ex quo singulare*, published in China in 1744.

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APPENDIX III.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

REFERENCE WORKS.

The Catholic Encyclopaedia, edited by C. G. Heberman and others. 15 vols. New York, 1907-1912. (Articles on China, Ricci, Schall, Society of Jesus, Verbiest).

The standard encyclopædia for all things relating to the Roman Catholic Church. It contains good bibliographies.

Cordier, Henri. Bibliotheca Sinica. Dictionnaire bibliographique des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Empire chinois. Ed. 2. 4 vols. Paris, 1904-1908.

The great bibliographical work on China, by one who has devoted his life to the study of that country.

De Backer, Augustin. Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus; ou, Notices bibliographiques. 3 vols. Liège, 1869-1876.

An authoritative bibliography on the life and writings of Jesuits by one of the Order. It is arranged alphabetically by name of the man treated.

Migne, L'Abbé. Dictionnaire des missions Catholiques. 2 vols. Paris, 1863-1864. (Vol. I, Biographical; Vol. II, Historical).

One of Migne's great compilations. Authoritative as far as it goes, but incomplete.

ORIGINAL SOURCES.

Documents inédits pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de l'Extrême-Orient; compiled by Henri Cordier. In La Revue de l'Extrême Orient, III. Paris, 1887.

A series of original letters from Jesuits in China, to which Cordier was given access.

Gonzales de S. Pierre, François (Religieux de l'Ordre de S. Dominique, & Missionnaire Apostolique à la Chine). Relation de la Nouvelle Persecution de la Chine, jusqu'à la Mort du Cardinal de Tournon. n.p. 1714.

A bitter attack on the Jesuits, written in the heat of controversy by an ardent supporter of de Tournon.

Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, écrites des Missions Etrangères. Nouvelle édition. 26 vols. Paris (chez J. G. Merigot le jeune), 1703-1788. Mémoires de la Chine are found in volumes 16 to 22.

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An invaluable collection of letters written by Jesuits, and pertaining to their work on the mission field. Of prime significance to anyone studying this great Society.

Ripa. Memoirs of Father Ripa, during thirteen years' residence at the Court of Pekin in the service of the Emperor of China: selected and translated from the Italian by Fortunato Prandi. London, 1844.

A very readable account by a missionary of the Propaganda of his life and work in China.

GENERAL WORKS.

Baddeley, J. F. Father Matteo Ricci's Chinese World-maps, 1584-1608. (The Geographical Journal, October, 1917).

An analysis of Ricci's map, the publishing of which was of great use to the mission in China.

Brucker, Joseph. La Mission de Chine de 1722 à 1735. (Revue des Questions Historiques, Paris, XXIX, 1881).

A critical study, based on unpublished documents, from which quotations are freely made. The author is a Jesuit, and prejudiced in favour of his Society.

Chavannes de la Giraudière, H. de. Les Chinois pendant une Période de 4458 Années. Tours, 1845.

Short, but contains an excellent summary of Roman Catholic missions in China.

Cordier, Henri. L'Arrivée des Portugais en Chine. Leide, 1911.

A brief monograph, taking up the early trade relations between China and the West.

Crétineau-Joly, Jacques. Histoire religieuse, politique et littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus, composée sur les documents inédits et authentiques. 6 vols. Paris, 1845.

A compendious and impartial history. The last two volumes take up this period.

Henrion, Matthieu R. A. Histoire générale des missions catholiques depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours. 2 vols. Paris, 1847.

An excellent general history. It is not detailed, and is somewhat out of proportion, but gives a good survey of the field.

Jenkins, Robert C. The Jesuits in China and the Legation of Cardinal de Tournon. An examination of conflicting evidence and an attempt at an impartial judgment. London, 1894.

An exceedingly valuable and scholarly investigation from primary sources of this great Legation.

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Launay, Adrien. Nos missionnaires, précédés d'une Etude historique sur la Société des Missions Etrangères. Paris, 1886.

The introduction only relates to this period. This book should only be used in case his larger history is not available.

Ljungstedt, Sir Andrew. An historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China; and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China. Boston, 1836.

An early study by a man hostile to missionary work.

McCabe, J. A candid History of the Jesuits. New York, 1913.

A book written by a former Jesuit to prove the dangerous character of the Society.

Moidrey, Joseph de. La Hiérarchie Catholique en Chine, en Corée et au Japon. (1307-1914) Zi-ka-wei, près Chang-Hai, 1914.

A chronological outline, with brief notes, written by a Jesuit missionary now in China.

Perez, Lorenzo. Origen de las Misiones Franciscanas en la Provincia de Kwang-Tung (China). Madrid, 1918. (Extracto del Archivo Ibero. Americano Numeros 20-23.

An excellent recent study, with original documents quoted at length.

Rohrbacher, René François. Histoire universelle de l'Eglise Catholique. 29 vols. Paris, 1857-61.

An important and full, although rather early, history.

Steinmetz, Andrew. History of the Jesuits from the Foundation of their Society to its Suppression by Pope Clement XIV, their Missions throughout the World, their educational System and Literature, with their Revival and present State. 3 vols. London, 1848.

A standard work on the Jesuits. While not giving them unqualified approval, it treats them sympathetically.

Walshe, W. Gilbert. Christianity in China under the Ming and early Manchu Emperors. (The Church Missionary Review, September, 1908).

An excellent brief study, by a Protestant missionary.

Williams, Samuel Wells. The Middle Kingdom. A survey of the Geography, Government, Literature, Social Life, Arts and History of the Chinese Empire and its Inhabitants. Rev. ed. 2. vols. New York, 1895-1901.

A standard Protestant account of the Chinese Empire.

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Periodicals.

Annales de la Propagation de la Foi. Lyons, 1825
Chinese Recorder. Foochow, 1869-72. Shanghai, 1874-1920.
Chinese Repository. Canton, 1833-1851.
Church Missionary Intelligencer. London, 1876-1906; continued to date as Church Missionary Review.

The following books were not available for this study, but should also be consulted:—

Andre-Marie: Missions Dominicaines dans l'Extrême-Orient. 2 vols. Paris, 1865.
Bernardin de Rouen, Victor: Histoire universelle des Missions Franciscaines. 2 vols. Paris, 1898.
Casartelli: Catholic Missions. London, 1891.
Huc: Le Christianisme en Chine, en Tartarie, et au Thibet.
Launay: Histoire de la Société des Missions Etrangères. Paris, 1896.
Mosheim: Authentik Memoirs of the Christian Church in China. London, 1750.
Roy: Histoire abrégée des Missions Catholiques depuis le XVe Siècle jusqu'à nos Jours. Tours, 1855.

The writer of this useful study was too far away to be communicated with or the following notes might, perhaps, have been embodied in the paper.

To speak of Papal infallibility in connexion with the Rites controversy is not really correct; none of the documents published in that connexion were definitions *ex cathedrâ*, such as alone, according to the Vatican Council, would have the privilege of infallibility. But, of course, the decisions were none the less obligatory.

As to commercial dealings, it must be noted that trading is expressly forbidden to Members of the Society, both by their rules and by the Canon law; anyone proved guilty of the offence would be dismissed from the Order. The author was probably not able to refer to the polemic between certain Jansenist pamphleteers and P. de Goville, Procureur of the Missions in Canton (*Réponse à la lettre de Père de Goville*, etc., Paris, 1736), in which by the testimony of Naval Officers and Merchants of the Compagnie des Indes he proved the accusations of trading were false.

As to the charge of disobedience to the pontifical decisions, Brucker in the *Dict. de Théologie Catholique* (s.v. Cérémonies Chinoises) proves that though the Jesuits fought tooth and nail to the last minute for a cause which they knew was already lost at Rome, they conformed fully to the decisions of Clement XI and Benedict XIV as soon as those decisions came into force.

To the valuable bibliography should be added the new edition of P. de Backer by PP. Sommervogel and Bliard; Cordier's *Histoire Générale de la Chine*; the numerous articles in the *T'oung Pao*—especially on the Jesuits in Peking,—by Pelliot and Cordier; and the very important Article by P. Brucker mentioned above. [Editor *N. C. Review.*]

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SILKIES

BY

A. C. MOULE.

These curious fowls which are found in China and Japan, and, according to a scientific dictionary quoted by Cordier, all over Asia, have provided one of the stock difficulties in Marco Polo, who says (Vol. II, p. 226) "You must know that they have a kind of fowls which have no feathers, but hair only, like a cat's fur. They are black all over; they lay eggs just like our fowls, and are very good to eat." Odoric on the other hand says (Cordier's edition, p. 265) "The fowls there are as white as snow, and have no feathers like our fowls but wool like sheep."

Everyone who has seen them in China knows that they are in fact white and not black. I do not think that any commentator on Marco Polo or Odoric has given an explanation of Marco Polo's statement; but in his *Ser Marco Polo*, 1920, pp. 98, 99, Cordier quotes a letter from Mr. G. U. Yule in the *Athenaeum* of May 29th, 1915, in which he points out that silkies have black bones and, he says, dark flesh. And he asks whether it is possible that his uncle ought to have translated "black all *through*." The original French printed in *Recueil de Voyages* I. p. 177, is *et sunt toute noire*, and the Latin in the same volume, p. 432, *et sunt nigrae*, and Ramusio (Vol. II, fol. 48F) *sopra la pelle ui sono peli negri*.

The following notes form a small contribution to the subject.

1. My brother, the Rev. H. W. Moule, who has bred silkies at Hangchow, writes on February 5th, 1921:—"In my part of China 烏骨雞 [*Wu ku chi*, '*Black bone fowls*'] used to be silkies. They were white, but with a minimum of crossing would turn jet black, and that without losing their black bones, fifth toe or silky feathers. I used sometimes to think that the white feathers were no original part of the show and had probably been obtained with diffi-

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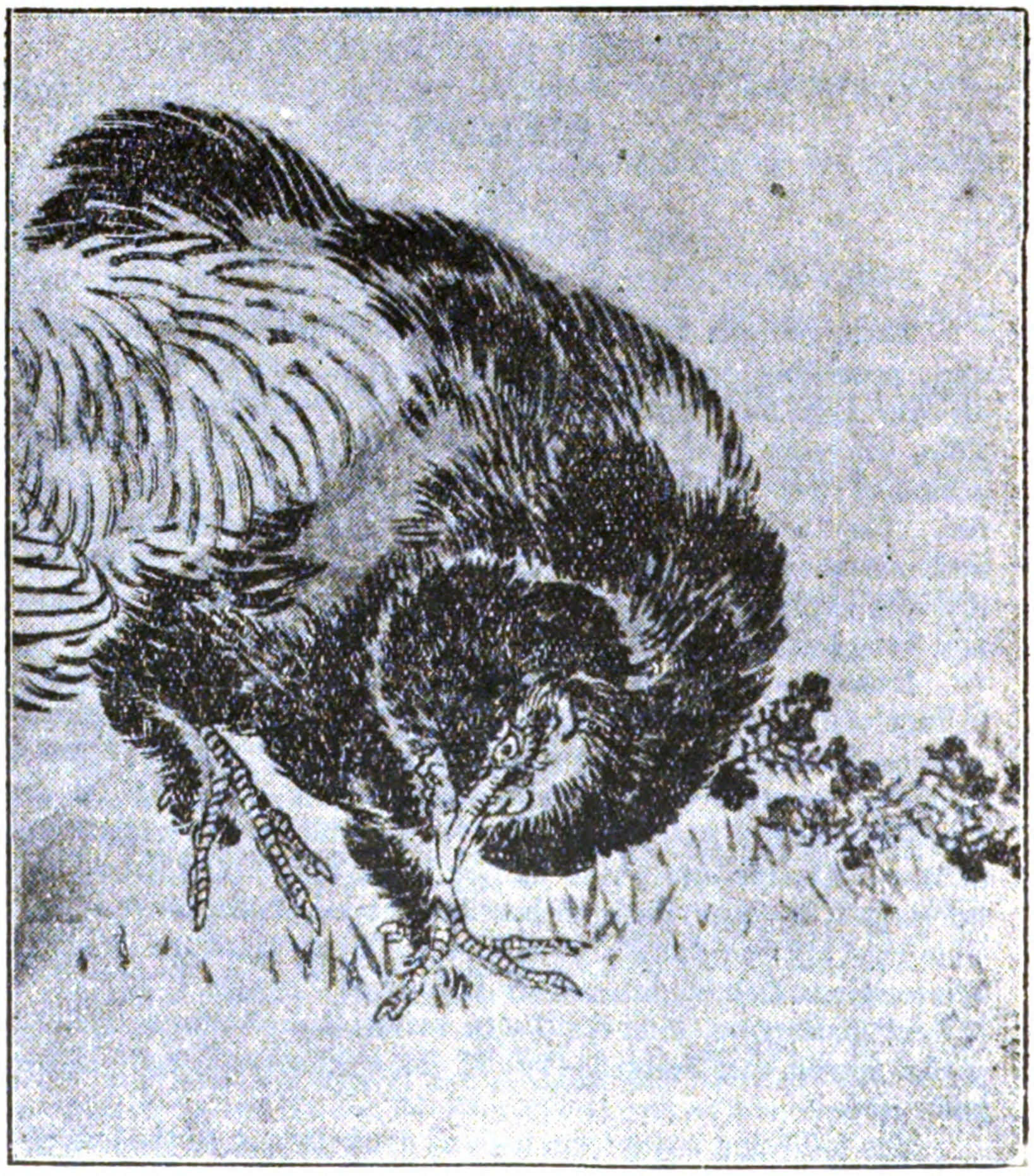
culty; for, though it took a lot more pains than I ever tried to get them to lose the black bones or extra toe, they would lose all trace of ever having been white feathered in no time."

2. The common native name is as my brother has said, *Wu ku chi* '*Black bone fowls*.' Giles gives also 絲毛雞 *ssū mao chi* '*Silk hair fowls*', and 烏雞 *Wu chi*, 'Black fowls. 'The



interest of this last name in the present connexion is obvious. 烏雞 *Wu chi* appears, in the native books of reference which I have been able to consult, as 'a black hen' (with emphasis on the colour rather than the breed) as distinguished from 黃雞 *Huang chi*, 'a yellow, or brown, hen,' and, secondly, as good medicine. Anyone acquainted with the methods of Chinese doctors would

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guess that a fowl with a feature so strange as black bones would be sure to make better medicine than one with ordinary bones; and the guess is to some extent confirmed by the *T'z^{u} yüan* (the only native dictionary in which I can find the term 烏骨雞) which speaks not of the silky feathers but of the medicinal value of the 'black bone fowl'—[烏骨雞] 雞之皮俱黑者謂以入藥稱補益品.

If we compare with this the entry in the supplement to the *P'ei wên yün fu*: 烏雞 [烏雞主補中], it will seem to be the fact that the Chinese have called their white-feathered silkies 'black fowls.'

3. In a book of pictures of birds (梅嶺百鳥畫譜 *Mei-ling po niao hua p'u*, Tokyo, 1882) there is a view of 'Black bone fowls' (half of which is here reproduced) showing the cock "as white as snow" and the hen "black all over."

Of these notes, the third will show that, quite apart from the efforts of my brother and modern fanciers, black silkies are known in the far East; and in conjunction with my brother's experience may suggest the possibility that Marco Polo had his attention specially drawn to silkies by a man who had produced a black breed, and failed to notice or remember that they were usually white. And the second will suggest that perhaps the traveller had never noticed the birds at all, and, describing them from hearsay, was very pardonably misled by the native name and thought that they were black.

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CATHAY AND THE WAY THITHER

Some Notes on "Letters and Reports of Missionary Friars."

By A. C. Moule.

As is well known, *Cathay and the Way Thither* by the late Col. Sir Henry Yule was published by the Hakluyt Society in two volumes, 1866, and has held its place as a book of the first importance for the study of mediaeval geography and travel. A new edition by M. Henri Cordier has lately appeared in four volumes, and in this the Letters and Reports of Missionary Friars form the first part of Volume III, 1914. It is proposed here to give some notes on the sources, text, and contents of the Letters. Of these there are seven, namely, 1, 2, 3, by John of Monte Corvino; 4, by Andrew of Perugia; 5, 6, by Jordan of Séverac; 7, by Pascal of Victoria. Yule's plan was to give good English versions of these with all necessary explanations, and in the new edition his work has been reprinted with some additions which include fragments of the Latin originals. And excepting the third letter of John and the first of Jordan, he translated all these letters from the second edition of Luke Wadding's *Annales Minorum* Vols. VI and VII. Wadding in his turn copied the letters from ancient MS. Chronicles, and these are more accessible now than they were in 1866.

The principal manuscripts which concern us here are (1) *Liber ystoriarum sancte ecclesie*, etc., c. 1336, at Assisi (No. 341), called here *As.*, containing letters 4 (fol. 136) and 5 (fol. 134) and a letter from Bartholomew which is translated below; (2) *Incipit liber de etatibus*, c. 1337, at Paris (Bibl. Nat. MS. Latin 5006), called *P.*, containing letters 1, 2 (fol. 170-172), 4 (fol. 186), 5 (fol. 182), and Bartholomew; (3) *Incipiunt cronice fratris Joannis de Capistrano*, at Rome (Bibl. Chigi, I. VII. 262), called *C.* containing letters 1, 2 (fol. 98, 99), 4 (fol. 103), and a letter from Peregrine (fol. 102, 103) which was translated in this *Review* for December, 1920. *C.* is said to be a forgery, though I see no reason to identify it with the *Cronica de originibus urbium* which Wadding and Leo Allacci ascribed to the sixteenth-century forger Ceccarelli. In any case it is of interest and of some value. (4) *Incipiunt cronice generalium ministrorum*, etc., late 14th century, at Assisi

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(No. 329), called *A.*, containing part of 5 (fol. 186), 6 (fol. 186, 7), and 7 (fol. 160, 1). Of this *Chronicle of the 24 General Ministers of the Franciscan Order* there are several MSS., of which *A.* seems to be the best. (5) British Museum, Nero A. 9. a little book of various contents written at different times, called *L.*, containing in an early 14th century hand 5 (fol. 99), and Bartholomew (fol. 99, 100), and other interesting matter about the missions in Asia. Of these *As.*, *P.*, *A.*, and *L.* are anonymous, though *As.* and *P.* are ascribed to Eleemosina of Assisi by J. Golubovich, to whose *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa*, 1906-1919, I am very greatly and gratefully indebted, and *A.* is supposed by some older authorities to be by Arnold of Serranno, Minister of the Province of Aquitaine. The part of *L.* which concerns us was apparently compiled by a Dominican. *C.* is at any rate not the work of John of Capistrano.

Besides these we shall also refer to the short, independent, and interesting account of the Martyrs of Thana which is found in two very similar forms in two Chronicles by Paulinus of Venice which are preserved at Paris in the Latin MSS. 4939 (14th century) and 4940 (15th century), as well as at Rome and elsewhere. Muratori printed a large part of one of these Chronicles from the Vatican MS. 1960 in 1741, and from this (at second hand) Yule translated the story of the Martyrs in the introduction to Jordan's *Mirabilia*, 1863.

It was assumed by Sbaralea, F. Ehrle, and others that Wadding copied at second hand from *P.*, which was in some library at Rome until 1693; and it will be at least nearly correct to say that he copied letters 1, 2, and 4 from *P.*, and 6 and 7 from *A.* Quétif and Echard's *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* Vol. I., p. 549, from which Yule translated 5, copied the Latin text not quite exactly from *P.* The sources of six of the seven letters have thus been briefly but sufficiently described. Of 3, the third letter from John, which differs from the rest in source, language and subject, nothing will be said just now.

For the text of letters 1, 2, and 4, it must be enough to refer to articles in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of July, 1914 and January, 1921. In 1914 will be found the complete text of these three letters carefully copied from *P.*, with the text (not copied from a MS.) of the summary of John's letters from the Chronicle of John of Winterthur (cf. also 1921, p. 114), and translated with short notes; and in 1921 the same three letters copied from *C.*, with the variations in the text of Andrew which are found in *As.* (p. 115), and the letter of Peregrine from *C.* Golubovich is perhaps right in thinking that *P.* is derived from *As.*,

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and for the letters which it contains *As.* may be regarded as our earliest authority, but for letters 1 and 2 there can be no doubt that *P.* is the best text known. In *J.R.A.S.*, January 1921 it is remarked that while the places in which *P.* differs from *C.* are about three times as many as those in which *P.* differs from Wadding, yet *C.* has hardly ever changed the sense of *P.* to any serious degree, though Wadding has done so frequently. *C.* on the other hand has omitted considerable portions of *P.* which Wadding has retained. The substitution of the text of *P.* or *As.* for Wadding's will require the following changes in Yule's versions :—*Cathay*, III., p. 45 for "these two years past" —"these eleven years past" ; p. 46 for "a great spy"—"a spy and magician" ; for "without any associate"—"without confession" ; for "bought one hundred and fifty boys"—"bought forty boys" ; p. 47 for "Greek and Latin after our manner"—"Latin and our rite" ; for "royal robes"—"sacred robes" ; p. 48, for "land of the Goths"—"land of Cothay (Toctai)" ; p. 50 for "by writing, reading and preaching"—"I understand, and read and preach" ; p. 52 . "of blessed brotherly love"—"of love" ; for "Kathan"—"Cot.. ay (Toctai)" and so on p. 53 ; p. 57 for "part of another letter"—"part of the same letter" ; p. 71 for "1308"—"1318" ; p. 72 omit note 2, the reading of all three MSS. being ioculatoribus ; p. 73 for "1322"—"1323" ; for "three weeks"—"three months" and omit note 2 ; for "twenty-two friars"—"twenty friars" ; p. 74 for "and as far . . . age"—"and, as far as length of life allows, strong and active with none of the accidents or appropriate defects of old age, except white hair" ; omit "many of" before "the baptized" ; p. 75 for "most cruelly fatal"—"very hot." Of the footnotes the following will also need to be left out or changed :—p. 47, 2 for "Probably at Tathung"—"At Tung-shêng" ; p. 48, 2 omit the part about the Goths ; p. 52, 2, omit ; p. 57, 1 (and p. 6)—It is not necessary to suppose that even Wadding thought these final paragraphs belonged to a separate letter. What seems to be certain is that the end of the original letter was not seen by the writers of any of our three authorities, *P.*, *C.*, or Wadding. Each of them gives the substance of it in indirect speech introduced by a different phrase, and one is tempted to guess that Thomas of Tolentino, who carried the letter and had no doubt read it many times, had lost the last sheet and reported it from memory. The passage ends (not exactly as Yule gives it) significantly : "The letter itself was dated, he said, etc." ; nor is it in *P.* or *C.* "separated from what goes before." Two other additions of *As.* deserve notice : p. 71 for " . . . On"—"And below, passing over many words, follows :

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For on"; p. 72 for "scarcely believe . . . "—"scarcely believe; so, coming back to my subject, I turn my style and pen to the things which concern myself"; p. 72, 3 *P.* actually has Cayton.

We now come to the two letters of Jordan of Séverac, a man who seems to have had a special attraction for Yule who translated his *Mirabilia descripta* for the Hakluyt Society in 1863, and added these two letters to *Cathay* in 1866. Yule says that he took the first letter from *Scriptores Ord. Praed.* I. p. 549, 550; though as a fact he translated the part which is common to the two letters from Wadding; and he relied, I think, chiefly on Quétif for his chronological and some other notes. The first letter is found in *As.* fol. 134 v° and in *P.* fol. 182, preceded in each case by a letter from Bartholomew, Custos of Tabriz, which has not, I think been translated into English before. Both letters are also found, in the reverse order and with greater variations in the text, in *L.* fol. 99, 100. Bartholomew's letter is as follows:

"To the Father reverend in Christ Brother Solomon, Vicar of the Minister General of the Order of Brothers Minor in the regions of the East, brother Bartholomew Custos of Tabriz [commends] himself with devout submission.

"You know that we have certain news from India about our Brothers, to wit Brother Thomas and his comrades Brother James and Brother Peter and Brother Demetrius, a copy of which we send you by the bearer of this narrative which we had by word of mouth from the man who went with the aforesaid Brothers. And thus we write to you in order. When the aforesaid man had left Ormuz, that is the first port of India, with the aforesaid Brothers, the man himself stayed in a certain island to forward some business. But our Brothers above-mentioned went to a city which is called Thána, which city this man reached on the eighth day from their suffering, namely on the Lord's Supper (16 April) in the year of the Lord 1321. The aforesaid Brothers' reason for this journey was that, not finding a ship at Ormuz in which they might go to Kulam, they were obliged to go there. [i.e., to Thána.] The aforesaid man indeed who went there after their suffering and investigated everything carefully and found out the truth told us the story of the suffering like this. When our aforesaid four Brothers were staying hidden in the house of a certain Christian for fear of the Saracens, it happened that a quarrel arose between the aforesaid Christian and his companion; and she resenting the beating he inflicted went to the Qádí (that is, the Bishop of the Saracens of the aforesaid city) and complained bitterly about her husband. And when the Qádí asked whether

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she could prove what she was saying, the woman answered that in her house she had four Franks who could bear witness about everything which she said, and the Qádí instantly sent for them. Brother Peter of Siena had then gone elsewhere. The Qádí began to question the other three Brothers and to ask many things about our faith, and they answered very well to all. And the Qádí seeing that he could gain no advantage here, began to lead them on to answer him about his own faith, and specially whether Mahomet was a prophet of God. And they replied that by no means was he a prophet of God. And he falling into a great rage began to insist and, brandishing as it were a naked sword over their heads, to threaten and compel them most forcibly to confess that Mahomet was God's messenger. And when they altogether refused, nay asserted the opposite about him, he had a great fire prepared in the maydán (that is, the public square) of the city, and Brother James of Padua thrown in first. And because of the size of the flames he was not seen except when the wind blew the flames down. But his voice was heard, that he continually called the blessed Virgin Mary to his help. And he stood in the flames until the fire was totally consumed; and when the fire was burnt up and extinguished Brother James came out unhurt so that neither a hair of his head nor a thread of his coat was burnt. But the malicious Qádí himself attributed this to the virtue of the wool of the coat and not to the goodness of God, asserting that the coat was made of wool from the land of Abraham, and thus the fire could not burn up him or it. And so he had the Brother completely stripped, and his head and body and the logs drenched with oil and butter, and an immense fire lighted three times as large as before, and him thrown in naked like that. And he as before stayed unhurt until the fire was burnt out, the two Brothers his companions looking on and praying. When indeed the Qádí and the Malik (i.e., the ruler) of the city saw this, they said, Truly these Brothers are wonderful, and are the truthful friends of God. And so they sent them away from the city, and ordered them to go out of the province. And when they had left, the Qádí, fearing that if the Brothers lived they would pervert all his people, sent after them four armed men, who fell first upon Brother James and tried to persuade him to deny the faith of Christ and found him most firm in the faith of Christ, till one of them brandishing a sword above his neck and cutting off his head made him a martyr of Christ and sent him over to the reward of those above. When Brother Thomas of Tolentino saw this he knelt down and began to pray, and one of those armed men took him by the beard and cut his throat with a sword, and so he

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flew with the prize of martyrdom to the heavens to Christ. And Brother Demetrius, who had lately been converted to the faith of Christ, they struck in the chest with a sword and added him to the holy martyrs.

"Meanwhile however the Qádí was reminded of Brother Peter of Siena, and sending for him he ordered him to be tortured unceasingly for two days, and on the third day to be hung up by the throat in a tree; and when he remained alive in the tree through one day he ordered him to be taken down and so had him killed with a sword, and so he was united with the holy martyrs, the comrade Brothers, in crown and merit.

"On the night, in truth, after the suffering of the three former Brothers there were so many great lightnings and thunders and floods of rain and horrible tempests in the country as never the like were heard or seen. The ship too which had brought [them] instantly sank, a thing the like of which was otherwise never heard of in that sea, namely, in the harbour where the aforesaid ship then was. The Na'ib (that is, the representative of the governor and Malik of the city) falling from a horse, and the horse on top of him, was suffocated and went down to hell. The infidels indeed, seeing these things, said We have seen such things that we do not know what we ought to do. And in fact certain Saracens who had come near Sultania, and had witnessed such great miracles, published abroad this martyrdom of the brothers and the miracles. You will know too that after the body of Brother James had already lain exposed for eight days it was found as fresh and undecayed and sweet as if he had been martyred the same hour.

"Now when the Vicar of the Brothers Preachers, Brother Nicholas of Rome, saw the letter of his Brother bearing witness, he set off at once and hastened towards India.

"Farewell in the Lord, etc. Dated at Tabriz on the day after the Ascension of the Lord."

Then follows the first letter of Jordan* very much as Yule

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* Diagorgan is, as Yule says, taken from Wadding in preference to Tongano of *As.* and *P.*; "Thomas the Holy" is from Wadding, now supported by *L.*; "Nevertheless . . . India" is again from Wadding, the text in *As.* and *P.* being seriously corrupt. The best text is that of *L.* which may be translated "In India, where after the suffering of the blessed comrades . . . I was allowed for my sins to live. May the Lord none the less, who arranges all things as He wills, be blessed in everything! And likewise after the happy martyrdom, which was accomplished at Thána a city of India on the fifth day before the Palm Branches, I baptized ninety persons in a certain country which is called Bharuch, ten days' journey from the same place." This version requires the substitution of permissus (with *As.*, *P.*, *A.*) for percussus (*L.*) and nihilominus for set non mihi (*L.*, *As.*), where *P.* reads et quando, and *A.* set nichilominus. Yule's "difficult kind" should be "useful kind."

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translated it. It seems to me clear that we have in Bartholomew's letter the first report of the martyrdom of the four Brothers to be sent from Tabriz to the Vicar of the East who lived, as Golubovich thinks, at Constantinople, and in Jordan's letter the "transcript," which Bartholomew says he encloses, of the first "certain news" which reached Tabriz from India. The writer of *As.* may have had a copy of Bartholomew's letter and its enclosure before him, whereas the writer of *A.*, as we shall see, only knew these two letters through the further medium of the report of the Vicar of the East. The long delay of six months before Jordan wrote his report is no doubt strange, but it may simply be due to his having waited for the return of the young Genoese merchant, who carried his letter, to Tabriz ; and then he writes in such a hurry that he really says nothing about the martyrdom, but leaves it all for the bearer to tell. The date of Bartholomew's letter is confidently given as 29 May, 1321, but if, as I feel sure, it enclosed a copy of Jordan's letter of 12 October, 1321, the earliest possible date is 14 May (the morrow after the Ascension), 1322. That Jordan's letter which immediately follows Bartholomew's in *As.* and *P.* is the enclosed transcript of the certain news would be the natural inference of anyone reading the two letters by themselves. And it is strongly confirmed by the other MSS. which contain Jordan's letter. Thus *L.* says that the Dominican Vicar hastened to India when he saw, not "the letter of his Brother," but "this letter of Brother Jordan's" ; and *A.* quotes the Vicar of the East as writing of the Genoese companion of the martyrs that "he returned at length to Tabriz with special letters from Brother Jordan . . . And the tenor of the letter which he brought to the said Brothers on behalf of Brother Jordan is word for word like this" : and then gives the first part of Jordan's letter as in the other MSS. On the other hand a short and possibly independent story of the martyrdom is found in two Chronicles by Paulinus of Venice. One of these begins vaguely "About this time," but the other puts the story under the year MCCCXIX. It is quite easy to say with Golubovich that XIX is a mistake for XXI ; but as a fact it is intentional and is followed in both Chronicles by events of 1320 so that it really proves too much. Another fact which seems to make the date 1321 improbable is that James of Camerino whom *A.* quotes as Custos of Tabriz was at Avignon on 24 September, 1321. Marinus Sanuto tells us that he presented his *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis* to the Pope "in the year of the Lord 1321 on the 24 day of September . . . and on the same day he [the Pope] sent for the following Brothers, namely . . . Jacobus de Cammerino of the Order of Minors, who wears a beard, who

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had come to the court on behalf of the Brothers from Persia; . . . and Paulinus of Venice, his Penitentiary, . . . likewise of the Order of Minors." (*Gesta Dei*, ed. Bongars, vol. 2, 1611, pp. 1, 2.) James of Camerino seems to have returned to Persia in 1322 and either in that year or in 1323 to have succeeded Bartholomew as Custos of Tabriz. A letter at Cambridge (U. L. C. MSS. Ii, 3, 7) dated at Caffa, 1323, speaks of "brother B. Custos of Tabriz" as then in Europe. The point is that James reaching Tabriz not *before* 1322, Jordan in January, 1323/4 and the Vicar of the East at some similar date all thought it worth while to go into some detail about the martyrdom, as they would hardly have done if the detailed stories of Bartholomew and (as Golubovich thinks) Jordan had left Tabriz on 29 May, 1321, and were already known in Europe. On the other hand *L.*, which as we have just seen states that Jordan's letter of October 1321 (which cannot easily have reached Tabriz before 1322) sent the Dominican Vicar off to India, also inserts the date A.D. 1321 into its version of Bartholomew's letter, thus: "a copy of which we send you by the bearer of this A.D. 1321." A very little thought will show that this cannot be the date at which the copy of Jordan's letter was sent off, and it is probably the date of the martyrdom or the date of Jordan's letter. The London MS. (*L.*) has not been adequately described by Golubovich, and I cannot do much better after a very hurried examination. It is a little book, very clearly written; but the margins have been horribly cut. Thus the passage that concerns us (on fol. 98v°) begins "[. . .] i predicatoris de martirio quatuor fratrum minorum apud ciuitatem tana" and the name of the Dominican author is lost. After a brief introduction we have (1) Jordan's letter of October, 1321, followed by the note on the Dominican Vicar, (2) Bartholomew's letter, without the address or the writer's name, (3) a list of mission stations in Asia, (4) a list of Franciscan martyrs in Asia, (5) a list of the sons of Tartar chiefs who had been converted. Golubovich regarded these all as separate extracts made by the Franciscan author of the book, and it may be so; but it seemed to me more as if they were parts of one long letter by the nameless Dominican.

If Jordan wrote briefly to Tabriz, he wrote at some time voluminously to Sultania, and this brings us to consider the source of his second letter, which Yule translated from Wadding. We have become inevitably involved in the story of the martyrs at Thâna. Besides Bartholomew's short account and the yet shorter independent account in the Chronicle of Paulinus of Venice, there is a much longer one in Odoric (*Cathay* II. pp. 117-132; Cordier, *Odoric*, pp. 69-85), of which *P.* (fol. 184, 185) gives an interesting

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summary. Cordier (l.c.) quotes at secondhand a letter from Francis of Pisa of which I do not know the source. It adds some new details to Odoric, which are however found in Wadding. Wadding indeed gives (III. pp. 250, sq.) a summary of some story which is not Odoric's, and of which Yule took no notice at all except to extract from it his second letter of Jordan. Wadding gives his authorities as "Fr. Jordanus, et Franciscus Pisanus, Fr. Petrus de Turre Vicarius Aquilonis, Fr. Jacobus de Camerino Custos Taurisij, Fr. Bartholomaus Accola Taurisij in Epistola ad Fratrem Salonem, Fr. Hugolinus de Soldania, B. Odoricus in chronicis (i. e., *P.*)," but he does not say (except in the case of this letter of Jordan) who is responsible for each section of the story, nor does he really quote Odoric from *P.*

There can be no doubt now that his authority was the *Chronica Generalium* which was published from the Assisi MS. (*A.*) in *Analecta Franciscana* vol. III, 1897. On fol. 142v° (*An. Franc.* III, p. 474) the author says that he has written a detailed account of the martyrdom of which he now gives a summary. But the detailed account is fortunately preserved in an appendix (*A.* fol. 181v°-188r°; *An. Franc.* III, pp. 597-613) and is considerably longer than Odoric and contains several new details. The author, probably French, does not seem to have known the Italian chronicles *As.* or *P.*, but he had access to one or more long letters of Jordan, and two-fifths of his story consist of extracts from "Brother Jordan the Preacher." Among these extracts is, as we have seen above, Jordan's first letter, not separately but contained in a letter from the Vicar of the East, and ending not at "all our books" but at "sufficiently perplexed" (satis ardua, etc.). Then follow a few more lines of the Vicar, and then, with two separate headings, the second letter of Jordan as translated by Yule, with one curious change of order. We must suppose that Wadding, finding the first of these the only extract with an address, and the second the only one with a date, put the two together to form one letter. Yule saw at once that the two parts did not belong to each other, but he could not guess the explanation which now, with *A.* before us, seems so obvious. It seems at least possible that this "second letter" which ends the extracts from Jordan in *A.* is actually the end of a very long letter from which all the other extracts, except the "first letter," are taken. In any case a good deal more of Jordan's writing than Yule knew of is now available for any future edition of his works. And yet the matter is not perfectly clear, as this final extract from Jordan is followed by a tantalizing extract "from a letter of the Custos of Tabriz sent to the Vicar in the East" :— "You will know that the letter explaining the passion

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of our brothers who were martyred in India, which the brothers sent us [? you] from Tabriz, was not written by the hand of Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers but, as Brother Hugolin from Sultania wrote to the brothers at Tabriz, was written and put together by the hands of Brother Francis of Pisa of the Order of Brothers Preachers from many letters which he had from Brother Jordan of the same Order." It is hard to see why this should have been inserted at all unless it refers to the foregoing extracts from Jordan, which yet have all the appearance of having been taken direct from an original letter or letters. Yule's version of the second letter is often rather a paraphrase than a translation, but he never misses the sense. On p. 79, "One day they are well disposed; another day quite the reverse, because of those who mislead them," should be "For one says 'He is good', but another 'No, but evil and a misleader of the people.' " and on p. 80, "Pray for the pilgrim of Christ, all of you, that the Indian converts, black as they are, may be made white in soul before the good Jesus, through his pitiful grace," is more exactly "Do you all pray for the pilgrim of Christ, and that the black Indian converts may be able through you to be made white in soul and piously to stand before the good Jesus." The most serious discrepancy between the text of *A*. and Yule, is the placing of the whole passage "But I must say a word . . . pilgrim in your prayers" *after* the date. This draws attention to the fact that there is a double farewell, and suggests that we may be dealing with the ends of two separate letters.

We have perhaps gone into too great detail about this martyrdom which is not the chief subject of the chapter with which we are dealing, but the story does tell us a little about the way to China which was the goal of the four Brothers and where their bones now rest. They travelled probably from Tabriz to Dihkhargan (Diagorgan) and Marágha, and thence to Ormuz. From Ormuz they sailed to Sohár (or ? Sur) (Suir), Diu (Dyo), an island on the coast of Kathiáwár, and Thâna N.E. of Bombay, hoping to proceed to Kulam or Quilon (Colum, Columbis, Colubim, or Columbum) and China. Jordan was going to Bharuch or Broach (Parocço) and had reached Supâra (Supera), on the mainland N. of Bombay, when he heard of the murder of his companions, and he wrote in October from Gogha (Coga) in Kathiáwár.

The letters contain a few words of Arabic, namely Melic, Melichus, or Melich; *Malik*, a king or governor, explained as *rector* or *potestas*; Cadi, or Cadimus; *Qádí*, an ecclesiastical judge, explained as *episcopus*, some adding that he acted as judge; Maydan, Maydanum, or Madianum; *Maydán*, an open space,

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or public square, explained as *platea ;* and Nayb or Naib ; *Ná'ib*, a deputy, explained as *miles*. The last appears in Bartholomew's letter about 300 years before the earliest instance quoted from a European writer in the O.E.D. or Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*. Pascal's letter adds Mesquita (*Masjíd*) and Alcorano (*alquran*) which need no comment, and Talisimanus which is dealt with below ; and Jordan (in *A*.) gives a fragment of the Moslem formula as *Allah ylal*.

There is some uncertainty about small points of chronology but it seems to be quite certain that the death of three of the Brothers was on Thursday, 9 April, followed by that of Peter on Saturday, 11 April, 1321.

The seventh letter, from Pascal of Victoria, takes us to a different date and scene. Yule, as we have said, translates it from Wadding who no doubt copied it from the *Chronicle of the twenty-four Generals*. In *A*. it occupies fol. 160v°—161r° (*An. Franc.* III, pp. 532-535), and calls for few remarks. On Yule's p. 82, n. 2, Jorjaniah : one MS. reads *Gurgantum* (*An. Fr.* p. 532) ; p.83, "I then received" is *et habui*, "And I had" ; "where three years before" *ubi ante per annum*, "where one year before" ; p. 84, n. 2, two MSS. actually read *Bacuk* (*An. Fr.* p. 533) ; p. 85 "called Zinguo," *Ziquo natione* "a Ziquo (?) by race" ; p. 86, *Talisimani* suggests 達矢蠻 *Ta-shih-man* which is a common term for Moslem priests in the *Yüan shih* (e.g., c. 33, fol. 3v° ; A.D. 1329) and is explained by commentators as equivalent to *danishmend*, as if it presented no great difficulty ; p. 88, after "all the way to Armalec" add "for a journey of five months."

Finally we come back to the third letter of John of Monte Corvino (*Cathay* III. pp. 5, 6, 58-70). This forms the sixth and last portion of a MS. in the Laurentian Library at Florence, which is (or was) numbered LXXIV, and is thus described : "Manuscript on paper, large 8vo, 15th century, very badly written. It consists of 186 written leaves." (*Catalogus Cod. Ital. Bibl. Medic. Laurentianae*, V. 1778, col. 302). The letter occupies leaves 182-186 or, in the modern numbering, 187-191. The writing may be very bad, but it is perfectly preserved and almost always easy to read. The text was printed by Kunstmann in 1855 (*Cathay* III. p. 5., *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 585), and Yule also had a copy made direct from the MS.* Where the two differ Kunstmann is generally right. He has introduced modern punctuation and spelling and has made a few mistakes. The first

*It has also been printed more recently by M. de Civezza, *Storia delle Miss. francesc.* VI, pp. 309-314, and by Golubovich, *Biblioteca, etc.*, I., 1906, pp. 306-309. The latter retains the archaic spelling with a number of small inaccuracies.

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initial has never been filled in, but *A.* is no doubt right. Kunstmann reads *Allo*, Yule *A vo'* ; the letter is certainly like U, but may be meant for LL. P. 60, n. 1 read *elonghumento* ; n. 4. *lichonoui, sotane* ; p. 63, n. 2, read *ranchori* ; p. 64, n. 1 read *pedagi molti vi si paghano* ; p. 65, n. 1 read *daisse . . . maabar chontra a tramontana. ccc. migliaia intra levante e grecho de menabar a giugimencote.* Yule says (p. 6) that the letter looks like a translation, and it is, as he points out, quoted by a contemporary in Latin. His English version calls for little comment. On p. 59 we should read "written from Upper India" ; p. 60, a confusion of the figures for the lengths of the day and night is perhaps more probable then a confusion in John's mind ; p. 62 "thorny tree, all red as it were" may perhaps be "all thorny like a bramble," but I am not sure ; "carried forth of" is not in the Italian ; p. 63. Kunstmann's punctuation seems preferable : — "They have no fasts, feasts or any days to observe, nor week nor month in the year. They marry only once, and if the husband dies, the wife is not married again." On p. 65 Yule avowedly takes liberties with the text. The points of the compass in the original are "SE. and E.," "N.," "E. and NE.," "NE. and N." On p. 66, line 8, "October" should be "July," and on p. 67 "This letter was written in Mabar a city of the province of Sitia in Upper India on the 20th day of December in the year of the Lord 1210." The date in the MS. at Florence is not "obscure," but absolutely plain . . . MCCX. John tells us that he left Tabriz in 1291. Thence to Bombay was reckoned a three months journey, and he may not have reached Mailapur till late in 1291. There he tells us that he stayed thirteen months, so that Yule's conjecture that MCCXCII was the real date of this letter is very probably correct, and 1293 is not impossible. The voyage to China was made in the south-west monsoon, the ships reaching Kuang-chou or Ch'üan-chou "after the summer solstice" (*Chau Ju-kua* p. 23), and as John does not seem to have reached Khanbalig before March, 1294 it is possible that he was still in India in December, 1293. Yule draws attention to the fact that John and Marco Polo may have met in Mabar. Pietro d'Abano mentions the traveller and the missionary, quoting this very letter, in the space of half a page. About the south pole-star "I was told by Marco of Venice, the greatest traveller over the earth and the most careful investigator of all who have ever been known, that he saw the said star under the antarctic pole ; and it has a great tail of which he painted the shape like this. He said too that he saw the antarctic pole at the apparent elevation above the earth of the length of a long military lance, and the arctic pole hidden. Th nce too, he related, are exported our camphor,

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lign aloes, and brazils. He declared that the heat there was intense and the houses few. He saw these things in an island which he reached by sea. He says too that there are men there, and immense rams with coarse hard wool like our hogs' bristles; and that there is no approach to these places except by sea. . . about these inhabitants of these climes Brother John the Cordelier has written a letter quite lately *from Mohabar in India, on the shores where the body of Thomas the Apostle lies, saying that in India it is always summer and* [*yet*] *not too hot, because there are generally winds which temper the heat. There is no winter there because the sun as it were always passes directly over the heads of the inhabitants, declining very little to the south and north; so that on the 23 day of August I saw with my own eyes and proved that the sunlight was falling so direct over the heads of the inhabitants that it was making no shadow opposite at all; and the same happens about the end of March.* So then according to this it seems that the parallel circle in which the zenith of their heads is marked passes through the seventh or eighth degree of Virgo; for that was the position of the sun on that date, the 23 day of August; and through the 22nd or 33rd degree of Aries, and thus they seem to be removed from the zero of the Equator by the space of only 8 degrees and about 4 minutes of latitude. *He declares too that the star called Tramontana* (North) *is so low there as to be almost invisible, so that he thinks that from some high place the other Tramontana towards the south might be seen.* Nevertheless this does not really exist . . . *He says also that he saw constellations revolving round the region of the other Tramontana, but it he did not see. And he says this was perhaps due to the many mists which rise in that country.*" *Conciliator*, Venice, 1504, fol. 97, 98. The sentences in italics are taken straight from the extant letter, except that the latter has the "24 day of August."

This paper, long, dull, and intricate as I fear it is, may possibly be of some little service as a commentary on and, in small points, a correction of a most interesting chapter in Yule's great book. All the texts required for the revision and expansion of the chapter, when a third edition of Cathay is needed, are now easily available in printed form, chiefly through the energy of the Franciscans themselves. It would be difficult, I suppose, to name a document relevant to our subject which has escaped the notice of Golubovich. My own debt to him is very great, and while his transcripts of MSS. (often due to others) are unfortunately inaccurate, his references, wherever I have tested them, are invariably and perfectly correct. Fathers E. Tannitto and M. Bihl have also given me valuable help.

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T'ANG CHI-YAO COINS

BY

A. M. TRACEY WOODWARD, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S.

The loss by T'ang Chi-yao some months ago of the Tuchünship of Yünnan province, will be looked upon by numismatists of Chinese minted coins with feelings of regret and disappointment, for to him is due the credit of having placed in actual circulation, for the first time in history, minted gold coins of China. Silver too, as well as copper coins with his effigy on them made their appearance, and went so considerably into circulation, that at the present time the T'ang Chi-yao fifty-cent silver piece is not only in very common use in Yünnan province, but is more valued, acceptable and oftener met with in Ssŭch'uan province than the local fifty-cent pieces made by the Chengtu and Chungking mints.

The first coin issued by the Yünnanfu mint under the orders of T'ang Chi-yao, was a fifty-cent silver piece which bore his effigy, as indeed all the coins did that made their appearance during his régime. This piece is a bust portrait of him in right profile with military uniform; above, 軍務院撫軍長唐 T'ang, Governor General (of the) Military government; the rest of the field is bare. On the obverse we find the military and national flags crossed and tied with a bow of tasselled cord within a beaded circle, a five-point star between the flag poles; between the inner and outer circles, above, 擁護共和紀念 -- Commemorating the defence of the Republic; below, 庫平三錢六分 — 3 mace and 6 candareen Kuping; a small five-point star at each side separating the two legends. Size: 33.25 mm; weight: 13.480 grammes; milled edged. It is the coin shown in Type I. This coin was not at all long in circulation, and probably because of the unflattering aspect of His Excellency's physiognomy, its circulation was quickly stopped and a coin of the same denomination more fitted to awaken esteem was struck. The obverse remained essentially of the same design and legends,

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but a fresh die was made. The reverse, however, was altered into a somewhat full face surrounded by a beaded ring; above, the same legend 軍務院撫軍長唐; below, two allegorical emblems of what may be interpreted as an apology for ears of rice or barley. Type II represents the coin. Size: 33.25 mm.; weight: 13.391 grammes average; milled edges. Very large numbers of this coin were minted at different periods, and its popularity has enabled it to penetrate the entire province of Yünnan and Ssŭch'uan as well. A correspondent at Chungking and a recent visitor to Shanghai from Chengtu have both assured me that in Ssŭch'uan province hardly any other fifty-cent pieces are nowdays seen besides this coin. This large quantity minted was not achieved at one time; the production was gradual, but continuous, and for these reasons a large number of minor varieties are found. Doubtless, several dies were made, not to speak of re-touched dies. I have seen twenty different types; some dissimilarities are more glaring than others, such as the star at the right shoulder and the outer-line of the epaulets on the same shoulder. This line may be found to end either on the third dot of the inner circle from the shoulder, or between the second and third dot, as well as on the second dot itself; the star may be found in the middle of this outer-line, or at the end of it, or over the middle of it, etc. As to the position of that star, it may appear with one point directed vertically, now the left or now the right point at a higher angle than its counterpart; in fact this slantiness is most erratic. The straws of the oats or barley also reveal several altered positions. Further observation of the obverse discloses the fact that the principal characteristics of Type I were retained for the first die; subsequently, either new dies were made, or the original one re-touched, and if so, more than once. This is evident at the centre of the military flag, where the lattice-work ground surrounded by the nine incused spots, which heretofore remained plain, now reveal a distinct ring in relief; this ring is not always in a uniform position, being sometimes high up, then again lower down. Nor do the strokes of the character 錢 (mace) show uniformity.

In copper, the gallant General, probably of more conscientious turn of mind, did not emulate the rapacity of the Ssŭch'uan governors of the early years of the Republic. The only copper piece is one of fifty cash token value, in the same dimensions as the "100 CASH" brass piece of the second year of the Republic issued by Ssŭch'uan province, if not thicker. Size: 39 mm.; weight: 25.573 grammes average; edges plain; it is shown in Type III. Whilst the bust portrait remains the same, the legend

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above is altered into 紀念銅幣 — Commemorative copper coin ; and the design below consists of two stems of chrysanthemum on the obverse the legend below reads : 制當錢五十文— Equivalent to fifty legal cash ; and the one above is altered to 雲南省造 — Minted in Yünnan province ; this gives the coin a more moral stamp of real currency. Eighteen varieties of dies and re-touches have been placed before me.

In gold there are two denominations, $5. and $10. Their greater majesty and symbol of power, if they do not give the opportunity of a more detailed allusion, at least command in us respect. There are two distinct reverse dies of the five-dollar piece, with sub-varieties to each, and only one obverse die. Reverse of die number one (see Type IV), shows the face of T'ang Chi-yao rather plainly, the eyeballs are medium, eyelids and eyebrows distinctly outlined, the nose is in prominent relief and the cut under the nose is long and fairly incused ; the subvarieties — probably re-touches —, have the star over the right shoulder in several slightly turned positions. Thus we find the points of the star directed in various positions, such as ★ and ✦, and also higher over the outer-line of the right epaulet, as well as exactly in the middle of it, or nearer to the dots near the edge. Seven different positions of the star are known. The second die (see Type V), does not show any eyebrows nor the eyelid over the right eye, the nose is more flattened and the cut under the nose shorter and more deeply incused ; the sub-varieties have likewise the altered position of the star over the right shoulder. All reverses bear the characters 軍務院撫軍長唐 — T'ang, Governor General (of the) Military government, on a bare field. In the obverse, we find the usual two Chinese republican flags with the star between the flag-poles which in turn are tied together by a tasselled cord, all within a beaded circle composed of 82 dots ; the figure 2 has, however, been added in the present instance, underneath the two tassels ; the legend above is : 擁護共和紀念金幣 — Gold coin commemorating the defence of the Republic; and the one below 當銀幣伍元 — Equivalent to five silver dollars ; a six-point star appears between the two legends. Size : 18.75 mm. ; weight 4.516 grammes average ; milled edges, the coins are in red gold.

In the $10 pieces there are two distinct dies for the obverse. The first one as in Type VI, does not bear any figure 1 underneath the cord tassels, and the inner circle consists of 99 dots, whereas the second one has the figure 1 in like position to the figure 2 in the $5, and the circle is composed of 103 dots. The legends are identical and in the same position as in the $5 pieces,

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save for the legend below in the obverse where the character 伍 — five — is substituted by 拾 — ten. Each obverse has three sub-varieties of reverse in the position of the star over the right shoulder, thus making six collectable varieties. Coins with the first obverse are of yellow gold, and those with the second one, of red gold. Size : 23.75 mm. ; average weight, 8.510 grammes ; edges milled. The average weights have been ascertained by actually weighing ten pieces of each denomination.

It will be observed that T'ang Chi-yao caused only five distinct coins to be struck ; there is no evidence that any other coins are attributable to him. A rumour that a $20 gold piece exists has somehow gained currency, but I have received categorical contradiction of this from Yünnanfu as well as from Mengtze.

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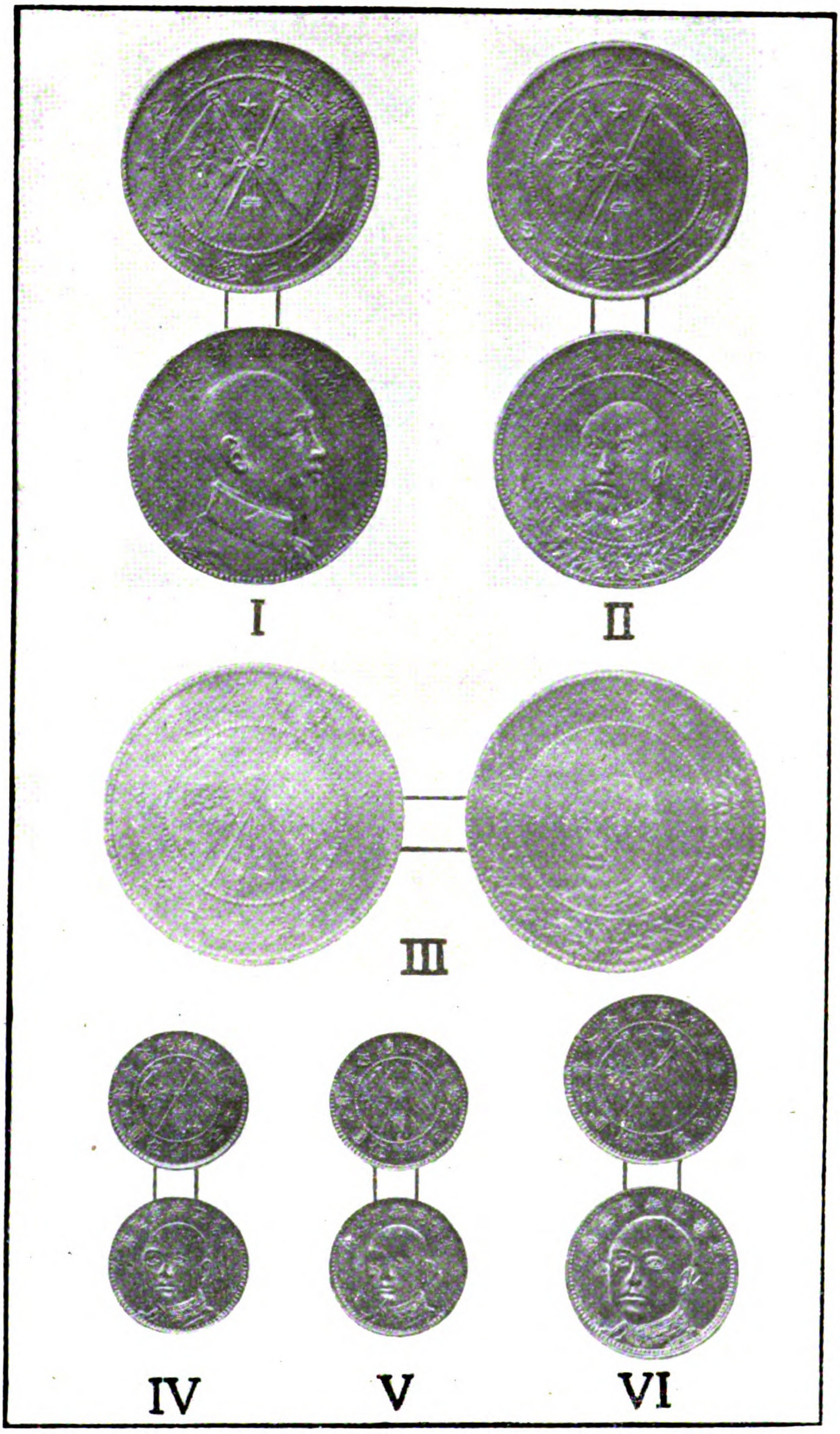

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NOTES AND QUERIES

The Editor has not been able so far to provide his readers with much on Art or Archæology, though he has the promise of some such papers. In the present number he is glad to introduce a new subject and a new writer. Numismatics in China is a study of great and increasing interest. Exploration of the proper sites would no doubt bring to light great quantities of the most ancient coinage. But the recent issues also are now collected by many; and we have had a volume on modern copper coins of China by Sir James H. Stewart Lockhart and a paper on Republican issues by Dr. Giuseppe Ros. Mr. A. M. Tracey Woodward, a Fellow of both the Numismatic and the Philatelic Societies of London, is not only a successful collector but also a keen student of the subject — qualifications which do not always go together. We think we can promise our readers that the article he contributes to this number will be the first of a series of useful papers.

Notes by L. C. Arlington.

(The Numbers refer to Prof. Giles's English-Chinese Dictionary, unless the *Biographical Dictionary* is named).

With reference to 鹿鳴宴 No. 13,125, "Banquets given to graduates," the most ancient and correct term is 鹿鳴歌 derived from the story of one 何武 of the Han Dynasty who upon becoming *Hsiao Lien* (or graduate of the second degree), invited a number of young men to sing songs of praise in his honour; hence 鹿鳴歌 is a metaphorical expression for a *chü jên* degree: and 韓昌黎 of the T'ang Dynasty in a letter to his friend 楊少尹 congratulating him when taking his *chü jên* degree wrote the following lines: 楊君始冠舉於鄉, 歌鹿鳴而來.

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No. 13,125 瓊林宴, according to the 唐摭言 was originally called 櫻桃宴 "cherry banquet."

Although the examinations were held in the 3rd moon, the results were not published until the 4th moon—the period in which cherries ripen—hence, the term "cherry banquet" since the festivities took place during the 4th moon.

* * *

Under No. 9318 萍水相逢 "a chance meeting of friends," etc., is, according to the original version, not exactly correct. The original phrase, which is taken from the 古文 is, 萍水相逢盡是他鄉之客. The phrase 萍水 taken from the above has, therefore, no connexion with "close friendship."

* * *

No. 7638 鏝 is not sufficiently treated. When read *man*^{2} it means "a trowel," but when read in the 去 shêng, the "reverse of a coin." No. 7628 墁 is also read *man*^{2} and used with No. 7621 墀.

* * *

No. 8907 烹 (or 享) 小鮮 was used by Lao Tzŭ in a figurative sense signifying "easy to be used or directed to a purpose," *vide* the following from the 宋史: 呂蒙正告眞宗曰老子稱治大國若烹小鮮今上封事者太多陛下宜靜以鎮之

* * *

No. 3735 撫軍 was originally the colloquial designation of the 太子 or heir-apparent; how the term came to be used as the epistolary address of a governor is unknown; but the constant changes in official titles is difficult to keep track of. The following is from the 左傳: 狐突諫晉獻公曰太子處則監國, 出則撫軍.

* * *

Dr. Giles does not give 封 a place in the body of his dictionary, although he has it indexed under 寸 where he says it is read *Shu*. It is read *Chu* as well as *Shu*, and is identical in meaning with 侸 No. 10,088 "To stand erect." It is also used with 澍 No. 2612, and with 樹. Lexicographers are not always consistent. Giles omits 封 and gives 侸, whereas, the *T'zŭ Yüan* gives 封. but omits 侸.

* * *

No., 7501 隴 has in some respects the same meaning as 阪 No. 3421 (which latter character also means a marsh). In fact. *lung* is defined as: 天水大阪也.

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No. 11,899 (櫝) "a shed to contain a coffin." The correct meaning is "a shed for storing fuel" (積竹板也藏木). It also means a "hearse," and a handle for a lance or halberd.

* * *

No. 9786 蛇, is also read ch'ih [2] the name of a place—another name for 曲蛇 mentioned in the Ch'un Ch'iu. Also written 虵 and 蛥.

* * *

Dr. Giles appears to have made a mistake in giving the rhyme 葉 for Nos. 4388 and 4390. 洽 is the correct rhyme. 脇 and 脅 are interchanged. No. 4388 has also the R. 豐.

* * *

There is no authority for 宮樹 No. 6580 being "a name for Peking." It simply means the trees in the palace grounds, as can be seen from the following: 宮樹隱朧送夕陽. It would be ridiculous to say that Peking obscured the setting sun.

* * *

No. 8089 牡 is also the "male" of plants, flowers, etc. And No. 9274 牝 is the "female" plant. E.g. No. 10,751 棠 is the male, and 杜 No. 12,043 is the female Pear-tree. *Vide* Chinese botanical works.

* * *

No. 6288 括 is used with No. 6291 筈 "The nock of an arrow," and with No. 6297 髻 "to bind up the hair in mourning."

* * *

No. 1687 洊 is used with No. 1680 薦, and read *ch'ien* [4] "repeat" from 饑饉薦臻 last line; hence, 洊 *ch'ien* [4] (aspirate). See No. 1761, *id.* 荐.

* * *

According to the 顏師古注 during the Han dynasty, 玉堂 was the dwelling place of the Emperor's favourite attendants: 玉堂嬖幸之舍; 金馬 should not therefore, when referring to the Han Lin Yüan, be separated from 玉堂. The *Ch'éng Yü K'ao* gives the correct version: 金馬玉堂漢翰林之雋價.

* * *

Although Giles rightly distinguishes 享 No. 4286 from 享 No. 3906, and the latter character from 烹 No. 8907, he does not tell us that in most ancient books 享 and 享 are interchanged, and that 享 was originally read *hsiang* and used for 饗 No. 4264. Neither does he tell us that 享 is the old form of 烹. In the

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1st edition of his Dict. he gives the Shih Ching sentence 或烹或享 (*p'êng*), but omits it in the 2nd edition. The change from 享 to 烹 was made by Yang Hsiu-chih (B.D. No. 2176) who, in order to avoid confusion between 享 and 享 added the fire symbol to 享 thus changing the sound to *p'êng* (烹).

* * *

There should be a distinction made between 型 No. 4620; 範 No. 3429, and 模 No. 8066. The first means to cast or mould in plaster; the second to cast in metal, and the third to cast or mould in wood.

* * *

No. 4730 盱, also has the meaning of 大 "great," "important," "very," etc., hence is also used for 訏 No. 4732, in the classical phrase 恂訏且樂 "let us both enjoy the scene" *Cf.* Shih Ching 溱洧 *V.* 前漢地理志.

* * *

Giles gives 冥海 "the deep sea "under No. 7951, but omits the full or essential phrase 九溟墨海 "to praise a man for his erudition."

* * *

No. 3402 (汎), 3423 (泛), and 汜 No. 3425 are all interchanged. Hence, 汜 means to "sprinkle" and is used in the same sense as 泛洒 "to sprinkle abundantly." To each of the above characters add the rhyme 陷. I can find no authority for 洽.

* * *

No. 1053 契 is also used with 挈 No. 1561. The rhyme 物 for No. 1053 appears to be a mistake, and is not given in the *P'ei wên yün fu*, nor in the *Wu fang yün yin*.

* * *

No. 10658 郯 it should be noted is the 東海縣 so frequently mentioned in Chinese history, the rulers of which were the descendants of the legendary Emperor 少昊 in 2598 B.C. It was a district during the Han dynasty. Therefore, it is a very ancient place. According to the 集韻, 郯 is interchanged with 談 as a surname.

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RECENT LITERATURE

The Arabian Prophet; A Life of Mahomet from Chinese and Arabic Sources. A Chinese Moslem Work by Liu Chai-lien, translated by Isaac Mason. (Shanghai, 1921. $2.50).

There are two classes of readers who might be expected to note this book with some interest; students of Mohammedanism in China—missionaries especially, and those in Western lands who study Islam and know no Chinese.

The former class—a small one we fear, will probably prefer to read the original work, an easy task surely in these days of Language Schools and Chinese without Tears. It would seem a lazy and discreditable thing for them to depend on a translation of such a simple work.

The latter class, conversant perhaps with Arabic, and at any-rate having within reach the enormous amount of writing in various tongues on Mahomet and his teaching can only regard Chinese Mohammedanism as a mere by-path of study, contributing nothing new to the subject, though somewhat varying as a species.

It is a question therefore whether Mr. Mason has used his time to the best profit in translating the whole, or nearly the whole of the work. A selection of passages where Chinese moral sentiments made falsification necessary—as for example in the matter of the Prophet's marriages,—would have had its value.

For of course the original work, with the exception of such necessary and interesting alterations, is only a translation of western books and there is nothing in it that is at the same time new and true. Any one who wishes to read an authentic biography of the Prophet will hardly choose the English translation of an uncritical Chinese translation of Arabic originals. Besides which the numerous stories with which the book is stuffed are absurd without being comical. They are much like the unmeaning and

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undignified stories in the apocryphal Lives of Jesus. Thus, from Mahomet's body there emanated a light, so that if he arose in the darkness of the night he shed daylight around and the people used him to find things lost in the dark. Where he passed there was fragrance for some days. A strip of white cloud always floated over his head, so he could easily be found when missing; and so on. A little of this kind of thing goes a long way. We prefer the *Arabian Nights*.

But though we thus suggest that selections would have been sufficient we give the translator all credit for the conscientious way in which he has done his work; and his three appendices are of value, especially the last, "Chinese Mohammedanism." If the book increases the very slight interest which missionaries have so far taken in Islamism it will have been worth all the labour that Mr. Mason has put into it.

The translator does not seem to be acquainted with Vissière's *Etudes Sino-Mohamétanes*; that work mentions that both Vasiliev in 1867 and the Archimandrite Palladius in 1878 have written (in Russian) about the book.

There are some very good pictures; the engraving of the Black Stone in the Kaaba is interesting, and we think most readers will be surprised to learn that the stone is only about seven inches in diameter.

A Manual of Chinese Metaphor, Being a Selection of Typical Chinese Metaphors, with Explanatory Notes and Indices. By C. A. S. Williams, of the Inspectorate-General of Customs, and the Customs College, Peking. Published by the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate-General.

Of the making of helps for beginners and primary students in the Chinese language there is no end; yet the needs of the advanced student are no less urgent, while the inducements to advanced study in the way of guides and helps are few enough, for it seems to be thought in many quarters that only those who are fitted to make their own helps will pursue advanced work. From this it comes that many who pass the primary requirements of language schools and language committees never get so far as to read Chinese newspapers or any of the excellent magazines which are now being produced in Chinese. Those written in the Plain Speech style may be read a little, but even those are full of phrases that mean nothing to the beginner, and he is apt to give it up soon. For that reason we have cause to be grateful that Mr. Williams has been able to prepare, and the Statistical Department

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of the Customs to publish, a work of the sort which lies before us. The remark in the preface that "metaphorical Chinese . . . is certainly the backbone of the language" is quite justified; how often has the ambitious student been floored by an allusion which his teacher has smiled over and explained loquaciously. The teacher has been and still is indispensable, but many a time have we wished that he would explain only what we wish to know without adding a fund of information that we do not need or already possess. In Mr. Williams' book we find deliverance, for the explanations give enough and not too much. It is not only a useful reference book, but it makes good reading for the student who is tired of conning 學而時習之. Its helpfulness is all the greater because many of the newspapers after toying for a time with the Plain Style, to see how well it would please their readers, are now reverting sharply to a style that is perhaps even higher than before, especially in their leading articles.

It was impossible to put everything into the book, but it is probable that little of real importance is omitted, and the alternate pages are left blank so that other metaphors may be added as the reader desires, under their appropriate headings. There is an excellent system of cross-references and indices, so that the memory of a single important character or of its English equivalent in a metaphor will suffice for finding the whole phrase. There is, however, no Chinese index by radicals, but only by Roman phonetics, which is something of a hardship to those who have not learned the proud language of the North. That leads the present reviewer to make another remark. In testing the book with a number of metaphors (most of them proverbs as well), the only ones found missing are well known in Ningpo where Mr. Williams was stationed for a number of years, and they are also (as we are assured by a speaker of Mandarin) a part of the Chinese common stock. Practically all of these are bookish in origin; we suggest that there was room for the inclusion of a few of those more commonly used within the bounds of the Wu dialects (even though less used else where), making the work more useful and more representative of the whole of China. Professor Giles seems to have owed little to his residence in Ningpo as such; is it presumptuous to wish that the rich local life of the southern ports should be more studied by the Peking trained man when assigned to one of them for duty? Mr. Williams has put us so deeply in his debt, that it seems ungracious to say so; his book should certainly be widely used, and it would be by no means surprising if the next generation of students were to regard it as indispensable.

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The Trade and Administration of China. By Hosea Ballou Morse, LL.D. Third revised edition. (Kelly & Walsh, 1921. $10.00).

In publishing a new edition it is usual to state in a prefatory note the extent to which the earlier one has been revised, etc., Dr. Morse leaves us to find out for ourselves. We have only been able to compare this third edition with the first, and we find the alterations fewer than we had expected. The work is so valuable and well known that there is no need perhaps for us to do more than enumerate the additions.

Most of the book remains exactly as before, with the exception of a few additional figures in the chapters on Revenue and Expenditure, the Provinces, the Treaty Ports and Foreign Trade. But strange to say these figures are far from bringing the work up to date. In most cases the figures for the two years 1911 and 1918 are all we have more than we had before, or, for the National Budget 1911 and 1916. A strange instance is in the population of Shanghai, which is given for 1910 and no later. There could have been no difficulty in giving the 1915 census; and as the Preface is dated April, 1920 it would, we think, have needed but little delay and the use of the telegraph to include the figures for that year also. But for the population of the French Concession nothing more recent than the 1905 census is given! and it is the same with Canton and Tientsin. For Hongkong we get the population for 1906, but that of Macao is only given for 1899. Other such instances might be mentioned. Shipping is only given so far as 1911. The Foreign Debt of China is given in an Appendix, but only as it stood in 1911; and the Railways in another Appendix as they were in 1915.

Now for Dr. Morse, a former Commissioner of Customs and Secretary in the Statistical Department, and also the best known of writers on such matters it must surely not have been difficult to get later figures than those given in most of the instances we have cited; and it almost looks as though the author had not revised his work *con amore*, but unwillingly because urged thereto by his publishers.

In the chapter on Currency, so full and clear, we regret that the enormous issues of copper cent pieces in recent times is not discussed, and the attempted circulation—or at least the minting — of various gold coins is not even mentioned.

It is difficult to assert that any trivial point is wrong in an author so well-informed; but is it quite correct to say (p. 258) that Anhui was formerly a part of Kiangsu? We had always thought the two were created at the same time by the division

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of the old Kiangnan province. Thus neither of the present Provinces formed part of the other.

Still the work remains invaluable to all who seek information on the Trade and Administration of China, and the author's accuracy and clearness in this as in his other works are known to all. There are one or two additional chapters and a postscript or two bringing other chapters at any rate more nearly up to date, and all who have found the second edition useful must now discard it and get the third.

Notes on the Nestorian Monument at Sianfu. By Lionel Giles, M.A., D.LITT. (Reprint from Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. I.).

Unfortunately only the concluding portion of these Notes has reached us. With all the preceding translations of the famous inscription before him, by Diaz, Wylie, Legge, Havret, Moule and Saeki, Dr. Giles has made these critical notes embodying the latest—not the last—result of his own and other students' researches, correcting errors, making suggestions and in more than one place giving a more satisfactory rendering of difficult passages in this famous inscription. The substitution of 玉帳 for 王帳 is a brilliant example of critical power.

To the general reader Dr. Giles' concluding remarks will be of extreme interest; and we quote them here because many of our readers will not see them in the *Bulletin*, and yet they deserve to be widely read.

"I must now bid farewell to the Inscription of Sianfu. It leaves me full of admiration for the learning and scholarship of the author, who with marvellous skill fitted together this elegant mosaic of allusions and quotations from the whole range of Chinese literature, but on the other hand with a very low opinion of Nestorian Christianity. Surprise has often been expressed that a great religion, introduced into China under such favourable auspices, should have wilted away and died out so completely. But after reading this account, written by one of its own adherents, with its cowardly suppression or glossing over of vital facts, its fulsome adulation of the T'ang emperors, its spiteful references to the rival systems of Buddhism and Taoism, while borrowing from them at every turn, its self-praise which is no recommendation, we wonder that it survived so long. It was not thus that the Apostles won their way to victory in the Roman Empire. One is obliged to own that the emasculated Christianity of the Nestorians was not a real religion, but a sham. The Chinese people weighed it in the balance and found it wanting."

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